Vanadium Strikers Firm - - Page 2
Natalia Trotsky Writes - - - Page 5
Negro and The Army - - - Page 4

THE MILITANT

formerly the

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

VOL. V—No. 11 | NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1941 | 267 | FIVE (5) CENTS

LEND-LEASE CLEARS WAY FOR A. E. F.

Ford And Negroes

The UAW-CIO Can Smash Ford's Scheme To Divide Black And White

The Ford Motor Company is the greatest single enemy of trade unionism in the United States. To force it to sign a contract with the UAW-CIO would constitute the greatest victory of the labor movement in years.

Obstacles there are, and we want to speak about one of them quite plainly. We refer to Ford's shrewd handling of the 11,000 Negro workers in the River Rouge plant and those in Ford's other plants. Ford employs more Negroes than any other automobile corporation. In this respect Ford has been more far-sighted than other manufacturers. By his policy he has won a certain esteem in the Negro community which he has always planned to use against the trade unions, and which he is now openly attempting to use against the UAW-CIO's Ford drive.

Unfortunately for Ford, it is the CIO that he is fighting against. And the CIO from its very beginning has had a very different attitude toward the Negro than the narrow and reactionary policy pursued by the AFL. From the first the CIO has welcomed the Negro into its ranks on the same basis as white workers. And not only into membership, but also into positions of leadership. One of the most inspiring sights in the labor movement during this past year was the CIO national convention at Atlantic City in November, where a considerable number of the delegates were Negroes, who took the floor and spoke with the ease and assurance of speaking in their own house.

Thanks to that CIO policy, the Negro workers have played a great part in building the CIO. They have shown a militancy not exceeded, if indeed equalled, by any other group of workers. The deep indignation of their oppressed race has held many a CIO picket line firm against cops and company thugs. The very latest strike victory—at the Lackawanna plant of Bethlehem Steel—brought reports of the especially noteworthy role of the Negro steel workers.

Even in the South, where for centuries white workers have been poisoned by white-supremacy bunk propagated by the ruling class, the CIO has brought about a new situation. How black and white can unite and fight even in the CIO has just been demonstrated in the CIO shipyard strike victory at Mobile, Alabama.

This national situation of the CIO can and will destroy whatever hold Ford has managed to get on a section of the Negro population in Detroit. Ford's lies may delude this group of Negroes but not for long. Ford is, for example making a desperate attempt to get these Negroes to believe that the UAW-CIO is responsible for the fact that other auto plants don't hire as many Negroes as does Ford. And Ford has found tools among the Negro lawyers, doctors and businessmen in Detroit who are helping him spread these lies among the Negro workers in the Ford plants.

The main responsibility for solving this problem rests with the UAW-CIO and the white workers of the CIO. They must demonstrate to the complete satisfaction of the Negro workers that they mean fully to unite black and white. The union must not be satisfied merely with the fact that it is wide open to Negro members. The union must take the lead in the struggle against any form of discrimination by any of the bosses in the hiring of Negro workers.

While the union is seeking to prove this to the satisfaction of the Negro workers involved, the union must have the greatest patience and tolerance. For at the bottom of this situation are the justified grievances of the Negro workers against the AFL unions, and against the attitude of many white workers, which Ford has been able to use for his reactionary purposes. The union can clear up this situation thanks to the splendid record of the CIO toward Negroes, but the record of the CIO must be added to now by bold union demands upon the employers in auto and elsewhere for the hiring of Negroes.

Whatever grievances the Negroes have against the way certain unions and many white workers have treated them—and these grievances are many and justified—the class-conscious Negro workers will understand the necessity of making common cause with the white workers of the CIO. They will understand Ford's game and not fall for it. Given a correct approach by the UAW-CIO, we are confident that the Negro workers at Ford's will do what the Negro workers have done in Bethlehem, at Mobile, in the Chicago stockyards and elsewhere. The Negro workers at Ford's will become the most militant fighters for the union!

Union Can Win N. Y. Bus Strike

Unbeatable Power of Transport Workers Shown in First Three Days of Strike

On the third day of the bus strike, which has successfully tied up all struck lines, Mayor La Guardia and the bus companies got the help of a "red scare", when Congressman Dies attempted to label the union as "Communist."

This move can only be termed a last-ditch piece of desperation against the powerful Transport Workers Union.

* * *

NEW YORK CITY, May 11—A bus strike was forced on the Transport Workers Union yesterday when the two companies controlling 95 per cent of the surface transportation in Manhattan refused, after expiration of the old contract, to submit reasonable counter- proposals to the union's demand for a 25 per cent increase in pay for drivers, conductors, mechanics and garage men and a uniform eight hour day.

The present pay rates on the Fifth Avenue Coach Company lines range from 75 cents an hour to a top of 81 cents after four years. Wages under the contract which expired March 1 with the New York City Omnibus Corp. range from 61 cents to 90 cents an hour after four years. When the strike vote was taken on March 7, the bus workers constantly interrupted speakers with the cry, "Strike! Strike! Strike now!"

At 5 A. M. yesterday 400 strike

(Continued on page 6)

GRACE CARLSON TOUR THIS WEEK

Grace Carlson has reached the Pacific in her national speaking tour for the Socialist Workers Party. Her next talks are:

LOS ANGELES: Sunday, March 16, 8 p.m. "The Right to Life." At Embassy Auditorium, 517 West 9th Street.

SAN FRANCISCO: Sunday, March 23rd, 8 p.m. "The War Today." At 421 Kearny Street.

Complete schedule of Carlson tour on page 2.

2 Auto Strikes On In Detroit

Federal Truck, Midland Steel, Shut Down; GM Negotiations May Produce Fireworks

DETROIT, March 11—A wave of militancy is surging through the ranks of the UAW-CIO.

Over 600 workers continue their strike at the Federal Motor Truck Company, holder of a $5 million defense order for Army Signal Corps trucks. The union is demanding wage increases and a union shop. The plant is closed down tight and the union men state that it will continue that way until the company signs on the dotted line.

At 9 A.M. yesterday 1700 workers of the Midland Steel Products Company, manufacturer of steel frames for most of Detroit's automobile companies, went out on strike. Federal conciliators, mediators, state labor board officials and sundry labor "trouble shooters" from the U. S. Department of Labor have been running around the Midland situation for the past week like chickens with their heads cut off, trying to kid the workers out of striking.

But the Midland Steel men couldn't be put off with "soft-soap." The Midland Steel men staged the first sit-down strike in the city of Detroit in 1936, the strike which set the ball rolling to establish unionism in the auto industry. Now these men want wage increases to meet the rising cost of living and a union shop to ensure security on the job.

GM PARLEYS BEGIN

Negotiations begin this morning with the General Motors Corporation on the demands drawn up by the GM Conference representing the membership of 70 GM locals. The union is demanding a union shop, recognition of the shop-steward system, a flat 10c hourly wage increase and a 90c minimum rate.

The GM workers are watching these negotiations very carefully, determined that no poor agreement will be jammed down the throats of the membership this time.

FORD BATTLE PREPARED

Meanwhile the autolocals are preparing for the grim battle that will soon take place at the plants of the Ford Motor Company. Flying squadrons are being set up and union militants are raring to go. Senile, old Hank Ford issued another blast today from his Georgia summer home defying the union. The Detroit auto workers are ready to take on old Hank here and now.

Many of the watchful union militants, noting with dismay the latest "anti-strike" statement of Roosevelt, believe he may set up a War Labor Board as soon as the Ford strike is called and call upon the Ford workers to return to work.

But the auto workers, thus far, have resisted the attempts of Sidney Hillman to housebreak American labor.

The auto workers have not allowed themselves to be intimidated by the strike breaking threats of Knudsen, and union militants have confidence that the auto workers will not permit an anti-union, Rockefeller - Morgan - Du-Pont War Labor Board to cheat the Ford workers out of their just rights.

Fight Against War Goes On!

Passage Of Lend-Lease Law Cannot and Will Not Halt Fight On Next War Moves

AN EDITORIAL

For most of the "isolationist" Congressmen who originally opposed the lend-lease bill, the fight is over. In the final vote in the House on Tuesday, 94 of the 165 Congressmen who had originally voted against the bill, switched sides. One "isolationist" leader after another jumped on the bandwagon and promised full support to the President in the name of "national unity." In the Senate, the great show of handshaking and camaraderie between opponents and proponents, after the Senate voted in favor of the bill, is a clue to the lack of seriousness in the forces of the opposition.

As a matter of fact, as Senator Vandenberg, one of the opposition leaders pointed out, 95% of the Senators had voted for the principle of aid to Great Britain. Practically all of the oppositionists had voted for the Taft amendment, which would give Britain two billion dollars outright.

In a word, the opposition was not a real opposition at all at any time. It was, at bottom, a sham battle.

For our part, we never put a moment's faith in the Vandenbergs and Wheelers. We left that kind of "united front" to the Stalinists and Norman Thomas. We have been just as much interested in warning the workers against the falsity and fakery of "isolationism" as we have in the fight against the interventionists.

Hence, so far as we are concerned, we look upon the defection of the "isolationists" to Roosevelt as no defection at all. We want to have every worker see and understand the underlying unity between the "isolationists" and the interventionists. When a worker sees that, he will begin to comprehend the real basis of our opposition to this war.

It is *this* war we oppose. As horrible as war is, we would not hesitate to urge Roosevelt to enter the war, if it were really to be a war for democracy against fascism. We are not pacifists. He who opposes war simply because war is horrible, is doing no service to the working masses. For to liberate themselves from the clutches of war and fascism, the workers must be prepared to use the same weapons that the enemy is using.

But *this* war is not our war. It is an imperialist war. Roosevelt is now given a free hand to do anything he sees fit to help British imperialism defeat German imperialism—to protect the interests of American imperialism. That's what the lend-lease law means. That's why we opposed it, that's why we shall oppose any and all further war moves by the Roosevelt government.

Our opposition to the Roosevelt war program does not blind us to the fact that, by and large, it has been accepted by the workers. The major steps of the war program—armament, conscription, aid to Britain—have received the passive support of the people.

They have accepted these steps, however, for reasons profoundly different than those which motivate Roosevelt, the Congressmen and Wall Street. The workers have accepted these steps because they hate fascism and because they have as yet seen no other way to struggle against fascism than by accepting Roosevelt's war program.

It is important to make these workers realize that Roosevelt's war is not a war against fascism. But that is not enough. Only pacifist fools can think of returning to the status quo existing before the armament and conscription program. The real solution lies in an altogether different direction. The real solution is to transform this imperialist war into a war against fascism. That can only be done by taking all power out of the hands of the capitalist class. The workers can fight and conquer fascism only by taking control of the country into their own hands.

We shall oppose every further step which the Roosevelt administration will take to further the interests of American imperialism. Every step that Roosevelt takes in his war moves represents the interests of American capitalism and not the interests of the American working masses.

But we know, in advance: the workers will not be able to avoid war, and they will not be able to defeat fascism; they will be dragged into war, they will suffer all its horrors without the compensation that the war is for the interests of the working class—all this must happen so long as the workers do not accept the idea that the way to destroy fascism altogether is to have the working class take control of this country, its resources, its armed forces.

It is because we want a real fight against fascism that our party has called for trade union control of military training, for the training of worker-officers and in a word, for the complete control of the armed forces of this country by the working class. That is the only road to victory against Hitler and against all the fascists wherever they are.

ROOSEVELT CAN TAKE US TO WAR

Refusal To Accept Amendments Shows He'll Go The Limit

With the signing of the lease-lend law Tuesday, Roosevelt is now in a position to plunge the people of this country into actual warfare any time he decides that such a step is necessary to remove Hitler's threat to American capitalism's domination of the world.

More than the provisions of the law, the amendments that failed to pass offer an indication that Roosevelt is prepared to go the limit.

In spite of his many promises previously that no American soldier would fight on foreign soil, an amendment providing that no American Expeditionary Force would be sent was defeated by Roosevelt's forces.

The same fate was given to an amendment against the use of U.S. warships for convoy purposes.

The defeat of these amendments show which way Roosevelt is heading the country—toward total involvement in the war.

It is a foregone conclusion that, having committed themselves to this policy, the Congressmen will grant any appropriation requested by Roosevelt to carry it out.

CONVOYS ARE NEXT

Scarcely was the ink of his signature dry, when Roosevelt began to turn over naval equipment to Britain. Destroyers, mosquito boats, etc., will be rushed across. All that is needed now is for a German submarine to sink a boatload of American war material, and then will begin a hue and cry about the absurdity of spending money on material without taking steps to prevent the Germans from sinking it.

Then will come the demand for convoys, and it will be readily granted. The first convoy guarding material that runs into German submarines will fire the first direct U. S. shot in the war.

HYPOCRISY REIGNS

Hypocrisy ran riot in Congress during the debate. The representatives of the Jim Crow, poll tax South undertook the defense of democracy on the foreign field. The ultra-reactionary Republicans became the defenders of internal democracy against dictatorship powers. And there was no one in the halls of Congress to laugh these hypocrites to shame.

No one arose to a point of order to point out that the Southern Bourbons have no right to speak of defending democracy against fascism. Nor did the Southern representatives, vulnerable as they are, rise to point to Taft, Vandenberg and their crowd of "isolationists" as the group that, more than any other, is likely to destroy democracy altogether.

But even had, a revolutionary representative been present to point these things out, the hypocritical lies would have been repeated—that is all that the American capitalist class has with which to cover its nakedness. It cannot even find new slogans under which to fight this war, but must repeat its worn-out formulas of 1914-1918.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

A U. S. Department of Commerce official has estimated that Germany's war expenditures are now being made at the rate of 72 per cent of the entire German national income, or about 72 billion marks a year. The figure is based upon sketchy German reports supplemented by some shrewd guess work.

The same official report points out that this year the United States expects to spend $17,500,0000,000 for all purposes, including the arms drive. If the U. S. were spending at the same rate as the German, it would be spending $57,600,000,000 per year.

The implication here is plain enough. The Department of Commerce issues this report precisely for the purpose of advising business men of the necessary and inevitable trend.

What the report does not go into is the meaning of these figures for the people generally. The rate of expenditure for armaments naturally far exceeds the rate of increase of the national income.

To say that Nazi Germany is spending 72 per cent of its national income for the war is another way of saying that the German people are being beaten down to an ever declining level of living standards.

We already have heard from various of our "leaders" that the American people are going to have to do without a lot of things because of the war drive. In reality an important proportion of the American people are already doing without a lot of things they need. In the times that are coming they will have to do with still less.

This is what is happening every time the OPM announces new "priorities" in vital lines for the arms program.

Finally there is the question of inflation as an inevitable corollary of the arms program. The Department of Commerce report took pains to show not only that in the war period German national indebtedness increased but that this rise was accentuated by an inflationary increase in currency circulation during the same period.

ALP VOTE NEAR 4,000 IN N. Y. CONGRESS POLL

Final returns in New York City's 17th Congressional district special election show that the votes cast for Eugene P. Connolly, candidate of the American Labor Party, nearly doubled the percentage of votes cast for the ALP candidate in the last general election.

The vote was: Baldwin (Republican) 23,252; Alfange, (Democrat) 16,690; Connolly, (ALP) 3,985.

Alfange was defeated despite endorsement by Roosevelt and the war-mongering right wing of the ALP. His vote was a far smaller percentage than the Democrats got in the last election.

Since last November the vote for the ALP in this silk stocking district increased from slightly more than 5 percent of the total vote to 9 per cent.

Connolly was the only independent labor candidate running in this special election. When his nomination by the ALP was announced, the Socialist Workers Party withdrew its candidate.

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Army Doctor Says Medical Corps Incompetent

(The following are extracts from a letter sent by a member of the army medical corps to his family.)

* * *

We met some reservists in the medical corps. As a group they are the usual type one meets among the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and professionals—smug, narrow-minded and very aloof because of their educational advantages. Very few of them have learned anything since leaving school, and don't care to learn.

The things I have learned here about these army medical men make me despair. We are all told to forget our medicine; that we are to be army men first and not doctors. Very few of us get beyond prescribing asparin.

Some of those I have met are disgusted, but the majority are taken in by their new authority and the rest of the folderol that goes with army life. Disciplining privates gives them a big kick. Most of them have always wanted to play boss, and their position in the army permits them to do this now. As for "democracy" in the army, everyone sneers at it and calls it plain hokum.

I recently attended a public dance here. When some privates came in, all the officers left the building. Officers are forbidden to associate socially with privates.

I have been shocked by the utter medical incompetence I have witnessed and heard about. Skin specialists are placed in charge of genito-urinary wards; rectal surgeons are assigned to heart examinations. This may sound far fetched, but I have personally verified such cases.

At one camp in the South, I have learned that there is a venereal prophylactic station for the white soldiers — but none for the Negroes! That's "democracy" for you!

It's a sad situation so far as guarding the health of the nation's youth in the army is concerned.

Oscar Coover, who keeps those subs popping in the Twin Cities, is seen looking at a display of Trotskyist newspapers, at the party banquet which launched the Minneapolis (beg pardon, Twin Cities) subscription drive campaign.

MINNESOTA OVER THE TOP WITH 531 POINTS IN SIXTH WEEK OF NATION-WIDE SUB DRIVE!!

With two weeks still to go, and New York left somewhere in the dust at the starting post, the Minnesota Militant Miracle Men have sailed well above their self-imposed quota of 500 points. The Minnesota total, as the scoreboard shows, is a good 20% above the total for the entire remainder of the party.

And lest the abashed remainder of the Socialist Workers Party thinks the Minnesota comrades are content to let things go at that, let it read and weep over this blithe wire from the Sub Center of the nation:

"MINNESOTA SAYS THERE IS A SAYING THAT THE FIRST MILLION IS THE HARDEST TO GET. MINNESOTA FOUND THE FIRST 500 POINTS EASY AND WE ARE STARTING ON THE SECOND. COME ON NEW YORK!" Come on New York?—Come on, America!!

	This Week		Total	
	Subs	Pts	Subs	Pts
Minnesota	74	183	236	531
Chicago	26	34	45	77
Detroit	5	12	25	59
New York	3	3	30	51
L.A.	1	2	14	29
Boston	2	4	19	27
Cleveland	2	2	14	27
Youngstown	2	2	15	22
Newark	3	8	13	22
Flint	3	4	13	19
New Haven	3	4	10	13
Toledo	0	0	10	11
Allentown	0	0	4	7
Paterson	1	1	3	5
Pittsburgh	2	2	4	4
Palo Alto	1	4	1	4
Milwaukee	0	0	1	4
Rochester	2	2	2	2
San Diego	2	2	2	2
Phila.	0	0	1	2
Albany	0	0	1	2
Plentywood	0	0	1	2
Kansas	0	0	1	2
Totals	132	269	465	924

War Orders Probe Has Teeth Pulled Before it Starts

Washington's "dollar-a-year-men" are breathing easier as the nature of the Congressional "investigations" into the war contracts scandal becomes clearer.

The Senate Audit Committee has reduced the original very modest request for $25,000 to finance the Senate probe to $15,000.

In the House, a nine-man special investigating committee has been proposed by the Rules Committee. Included in the proposal is a "study" of strikes in war production industries. That, and not the contract scandals, will occupy the committee.

As for telling what the fat cat war profiteers are up to, the House resolution states: "Information obtained by the committee as a result of any investigation under this resolution or in connection therewith, shall not be made public by the committee . . ."

What The Home Guard's For

Here are several of a large force of Alabama Home Guard strike-breakers patroling the Utica Knitting Co. mill at Aniston, Ala., after dispersing an AFL picket line with tear gas and bayonets. This is the first reported use of the Home Guard—and it's against labor.

Vanadium Strikers Denounce CIO Director's Aid To Boss

Firmly Continue Their Strike, Demanding New Guard Jobs Be Filled Only By Union

By JAMES COOK

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa. March 5—A determined band of four hundred striking workers of the Vanadium Corporation of America, here in this Pittsburgh suburb, are stubbornly holding out for the right of their union to have their unemployed union brothers get jobs that open up in the plant and to prevent the company from using stool pigeons to annoy the workers on the job.

Despite the pressure of the company, the plea of the "national defense" emergency program and the attempt of Anthony J. Fedoroff, the CIO Regional Director, to break their strike and compel them to drop their grievance, the strikers, members of the United Vanadium Workers, Local Industrial Union No. 953, affiliated with the CIO, have entered the fourth week of their strike with a solid one hundred per cent vote in support of the action of their local executive committee to carry on until victory is theirs.

UNION CLAIMS JOBS

The issue involved is the question of hiring six guards to patrol the property of the company. The union grievance committee in November asked the company if it intended to comply with the provision of the contract which states:

"Notice of any vacancy or new position as timekeeper, clerk, stenographer, office worker or salaried employee not in a supervisory, technical or confidential capacity shall be posted by the Company for a period of one week . . . In filling the position . . . the Company shall give preference among equally qualified employees to the employee having the longest service with the company."

The company replied indirectly to the committee that since these jobs were of a "confidential capacity" it did not concern the union. The union membership felt that if these jobs were made confidential it could only mean that these guards were to be used as stool pigeons and snoopers among them, which was a breach of their contract. If the company wanted merely guards to patrol the property the union membership would supply them.

The company had hired as guards before two former coal and iron police, one man who said that any man who attends a CIO meeting is a Communist, and another who used to stand over the men in an annoying manner watching them do their work.

Some of the men working inside the plant at present might welcome the chance to get an outside job. Eighty per cent of the men in the plant have to wear muzzles to protect them from the dust which is generated by the process of their work. Most of them suffer from "miner's asthma."

GRIEVANCE IGNORED

The union grievance committee first tried to get the company's ear on this matter November 7th. CIO Director Federoff intervened over their heads and at a meeting a week later told the membership he washed his hands of them (To make it very clear whose side he was on he subsequently washed his dirty hands several times in the public press). The union membership twice voted for a strike before their executive committee, after continued failure to get the company to listen to them, called the strike on Feb. 8.

Frank A. Pugne, president of the local, pointed out that several other companies around here regularly hire their guards from their own employees. The union has had contractual relations with the company for close to five years during which time there has never been any trouble. If the Vanadium Corp. feels, because it has Federoff on its side, the workers must accept him as their dictator, the company will find it is mistaken, because the union members are ready to fight to the end to protect their democratic rights.

Since the strike was started the Corporation officials have stood pat, leaving to Federoff the dirty job of trying to break the strike. He issued a false statement to the press accusing the workers of violating their agreement with the company. On the basis of this he tried to run a back-to-work meeting in Bridgeville. On Feb. 22, he hired a hall in Bridgeville and appeared with five car loads of musclemen. They did not even have to open the door to the meeting hall, as not a single worker came to it.

OTHER UNIONS HELP

The union has already received support and endorsement from several unions around here. Among them are the Carnegie lodge 171 and the Goodwill lodge 178 of SWOC, also the Washington County Labor Council which is made up of delegates from UMW locals and other CIO unions.

The last move the company made was to send each striker a special dismissal notice. Federoff backed this up by stating in the press that he would plead with the company to take the workers back. A few days later he announced that he had gotten the company's agreement to take all the strikers back except six whose names were not given out.

The strikers held a meeting and decided that before they would agree to return to work the company must not only hire the six guards from their membership, but must also agree to pay all the men their back pay from the day the strike started. These are the demands of the strikers now.

"All oppressing classes of every description need two social functions to safeguard their domination: The function of a hangman, and the function of a priest. The hangman is to quell the protest and the rebellion of the oppressed, the priest is to paint before them a perspective of mitigated sufferings and sacrifice under the same class rule."—Lenin, *The Imperialist War*. Page 296.

Four-Day Strike At Fada Radio Is Victorious

NEW YORK, March 6—A four day strike of the 150 workers in the Fada radio factory here ended today with a clean-cut victory for the workers. The strike was called by Local 430 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union (CIO).

The strike settlement calls for a 7½ cents an hour wage increase for all the workers now employed in the plant.

In addition, the union won sole bargaining rights, a closed shop and shop seniority instead of departmental seniority.

A further gain in the contract is provision for ½ day paid vacation for each month of work.

In Los Angeles
Buy the
MILITANT
at
Lazerus Candy Store 2109 Brooklyn Ave.
Book Store E. 1st St. & Rowan Ave.
Sam Smit's Newsstand 5th & Main St.

L. A. Stalinists Try To Stop "Militant" Sales

LOS ANGELES, March 9—The Stalinists in the CIO Council here are making frantic efforts to prevent THE MILITANT from reaching the trade union workers.

Last Friday, they stationed one of their following inside the entrance of the building where the CIO Council meets to attempt to deprive the workers going into the meeting of their right to read our paper, which was being distributed outside the building.

By telling the workers that the paper was anti-union, this individual succeeded in getting about 30 papers away from workers before they had a chance to read the paper for themselves. But over 150 union men refused to yield the paper up.

Two of the workers came out of the meeting to inquire of those distributing the paper what right this Stalinist had to try to take away their papers. When it was explained that the paper was very much pro-union, but anti-Stalinist, and that the Stalinists were afraid to permit the workers to learn our position, these workers stated emphatically that they would be sure to read the paper.

The Stalinist worker who was preventing the distribution in this fashion was questioned on his right to do so. He admitted that he had not been authorized by the union, and that he was "doing it on my own hook, because the paper is against labor." He showed that he was put up to this by the Stalinists by referring to THE MILITANT as a "Trotskyite paper," and defending the distribution of the local Stalinist paper, **The People's World**, at the union meetings.

The Stalinists may resort to the desperate expedient of provoking a fight outside the Council building in order to provide a pretext for a motion in the Council to prevent the workers from securing THE MILITANT.

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HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS

BY CARL O'SHEA

The Chicago Guild, incidentally, has declared the Chicago Hearst management guilty of a lockout; more than 90 Guild members have been laid off in violation of the union agreement, the management refusing to arbitrate.

* * *

The Dubuque Iowa LEADER reports the latest union to be hit by a "conspiracy" indictment. The Dubuque Drivers Union Local 421, three of its officers and five operators of dairies were charged with conspiracy February 13th to fix the price of milk for retail sale and delivery. A federal grand jury handed down the indictment at the request of the Sanitary Dairy, which sought to chisel on the industry by launching various "thrift plans" calling for less frequent milk deliveries by milkmen.

* * *

LABOR, railroad union organ for February 25th reports that the International Association of Machinists with its 225,000 members will cease paying dues to the AFL until that body compels the Carpenters to stop trespassing on the Machinists' jurisdiction. The jurisdictional dispute involves millwright work, the installation and dismantling of machinery. According to President Harvey Brown of the Machinists, it will be up to the next AFL convention "either to enforce the Machinists' rights or go without affiliation of the union."

* * *

The executive council of the AFL announces another new high in membership for the Federation: membership has climbed 500,000 in the last four months to a total of 4,717,443, the council states.

* * *

The Summit County LABOR NEWS reports that John D House, organizer for the United Rubber Workers in Gadsden, Alabama, was severely beaten February 18th by five thugs who invaded his office and went to work on him with blackjacks. He was left for dead with blood streaming from fifteen cuts on his head. He is in critical condition.

This is the second time company thugs have beaten House. Some time ago he and President Dalrymple were beaten, also in Gadsden, by a mob composed of Goodyear foremen and "service men." International officers of the United Rubber Workers say they will insist on a complete investigation of the beating given House.

It would seem an elementary duty of the United Rubber Workers Union of Gadsden to form a Union Defense Guard to guard its union and officers from the violence of company gangsters.

* * *

The UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL reports that tentative figures of the U.S. Bureau of Mines place the number of fatal accidents in the nation's coal mines for 1940 at 1420. This is an increase of 342 over the previous year, and the highest number of deaths in the mines since 1931.

Still Congress refuses to pass the Flannery Federal Mine Inspection Bill which would diminish the needless slaughter of the nation's mine workers. One reason why Congress fails to act is because there are no labor representatives in Congress. John L. Lewis and Philip Murray helped bring about this condition when they threw their support to Willkie and Roosevelt instead of to the formation of an independent labor party.

* * *

The Pittsburgh COURIER reports that Byron C. Johnson, one of the colored navy messboys kicked out of the U.S. Navy, has obtained a job in a Brooklyn factory through the efforts of the Scrap Iron Union Local 1120, AFL, which invited Johnson into the union, a mixed organization, despite the fact its books were closed. Hurrah for Local 1120.

* * *

It is a startling and bloody story that Walter Merguson is relating, exclusively in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, of the mass murder of 2,000,000 Sengalese soldiers by Hitler. Betrayed by the French government and the French general staff, these colored warriors were left to delay Hitler's march westward. The Sengalese, armed with bolo knives and deserted by their white officers, faced Hitler's tanks and planes. Only a handful of the 2,000,000 escaped.

Merguson says "I know now that they died for a country which railroaded them into the army, denied them the right of citizenship, exploited them and opposed their liberation and political emancipation."

It was on December 14, 1939, that the same Merguson in his story from Paris approvingly quoted the words of Father Faucher, priest, that the French "are not fighting for the extension of French territory. We are fighting for the equality of all the races of the world. The idea of the superiority of race does not grow in French soil. For oppression and barbarity we wish to establish freedom and intellectual development for all who live under the caressing folds of the tricolor."

It took the mass murder of 2,000,000 Sengambians to force Walter Merguson to recognize the truth — that the French "democracy" opposed the political and economic emancipation of the colored people. How many tens of millions of colored people will have to die before Merguson and his type will be forced to recognize the lies underlying the propaganda of British and American imperialism?

* * *

MIDWEST LABOR, CIO paper published in Duluth, reports a Duluth mother of six children has been thrown off relief because she refused to take house-work in Two Harbors for no other payment than room and board. Her son has just volunteered in the army. Today his mother has been thrown off relief and informed by her relief investigator that her son would have to support her out of his wages in the army.

* * *

The North Dakota UNION FARMER reports on the alarming growth of farm tenancy in North Dakota as revealed by the latest census figures. Although there were 4,013 fewer farms in the state in 1940 than in 1930, there were 5,977 more tenants, 5,156 fewer "full owners" and 4,558 fewer farms operated by "part owners." Full owners are those who hold title to the land, regardless of whether or not it is encumbered by mortgage debt, while part owners are those who have a contract for deed. Of the 73,962 farms in the state in 1940, 33,377 or almost half, are tenant-operated.

SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Fri.	March 14	Los Angeles
Sat.	March 15	and vicinity
Sun.	March 16	"
Mon.	March 17	"
Tues.	March 18	"
Wed.	March 19	"
Thurs.	March 20	"
Fri.	March 21	
Sat.	March 22	San Francisco
Sun.	March 23	"
Mon.	March 24	"
Tues.	March 25	"
Wed.	March 26	"
Thurs.	March 27	"
Fri.	March 28	
Sat.	March 29	
Sun.	March 30	Portland
Mon.	March 31	
Tues.	April 1	Seattle
Wed.	April 2	
Thurs.	April 3	
Fri.	April 4	Plentywood
Sat.	April 5	Williston
Sund.	April 6	
Mon.	April 7	Fargo
Tues.	April 8	"
Wed.	April 9	Twin Cities

General Motors Settles Flint Fisher No. 1 Fight

FLINT, Mich., March 8—A temporary settlement was reached this week between the General Motors Corporation and the UAW-CIO, concerning the 82 trim line workers at Fisher Body No. 1 plant. The men are to go back to work at once, but are to have no seniority rights during a probationary period.

After the probationary period, which will end with the end of production on the current model, probably the latter part of June, the men will have their seniority reinstated provided the company does not pin some kind of infraction of rules on them.

This settlement is every bit as hard on the union militants as the case of the 17 men who lost their seniority rights in a previous struggle at Fisher Body 1. The severity of the discipline forced on the men, is the direct result of the fact that instead of branding the company for provoking walkouts as a means to clean out union militants and speed up the lines, the Thomas-Reuther International leadership openly sided with the company in condemning the men at Fisher who walked off the trim line on February 12th, after being subjected to taunts and threats by the supervisor.

Before he even investigated the case, Thomas hastened to give out a public statement after the Fisher walkout, condemning the men, defending the company, and pledging to help the company get rid of the militants.

(For full analysis of causes behind this and similar actions see story on page 3 of Wall Street plot to wreck UAW).

UAW Elections Show The Trend

"Labor Statesmen" Have Little Prestige Among Men, Returns In Elections Show

DETROIT—Most locals of the United Automobile Workers of America have completed their annual local elections and many would-be labor leaders are still wondering what hit them.

The auto workers have retired to private life several of these "labor statesmen" and have issued sharp and unmistakable warning to others to mend their ways or else.

Emil Mazey, three times President of the 20,000-men Briggs local, a phony "labor statesman" of the Walter Reuther type, running for re-election, by some 120 votes fell behind his opponent, McMillan, an individual totally unknown outside of his own local.

MAZEY MAY WITHDRAW

Mazey secured a run-off election only by violating his own local by-laws, which clearly state that a simply majority is sufficient to elect any local officer. It is rumored, however, that Mazey sees the handwriting on the wall and is planning to withdraw from the run-off election in order to take an appointed job with the CIO.

William Marshall, three times President of Chrysler local No. 7, another would-be "labor statesman" of the Hillman-Reuther variety, managed to get reelected to the local presidency by 57 votes in a run-off election against Zeller, a progressive unionist who has never previously been an officer of the union. Chrysler Local No. 7 has 10,000 members and over 7,000 participated in the balloting.

WINS BY 66 VOTES

Kurt Murdock, three times President of the large Packard local, running for reelection, a "labor leader" of the Lewis - Addes - Stalinist camp, managed to squeeze through under the wire by 66 votes.

All these men used to get elected by majorities of two and three to one!

Mike Duletzky, Secretary of the Plymouth local, one of the Stalinist "Big Three" strongholds in Detroit, was defeated decisively for relection by an anti-Stalinist candidate.

REUTHER IN TROUBLE

The Walter Reuther crowd controlling the key West Side local of about 30,000 members, is facing a stiff battle for reelection in their scheduled local union elections two weeks hence.

The auto workers have clearly demonstrated in these local elections that they are dissatisfied with the way the union is being conducted at the present time. No local leadership is able to establish a bureaucratic machine.

The auto workers have demonstrated that they do not approve of the cowardly, pussy-footing policy of either the Thomas-Reuther local leaders or of the Addes-Stalinist leadership. This election is a warning to all "labor statesmen" to mend their ways or else.

New Strike May Hit Bethlehem

Lackawanna Manager Is Balking Against Composition Of Grievance Committee

BUFFALO, N.Y., March 8—The Bethlehem Steel Company appears to be chewing off another big hunk of trouble for itself at the big Lackawanna plant here.

As was to be expected, Eugene Grace is trying to welch on the agreement reached a week ago after a two day strike which tied the plant up tight. The company has refused to meet with the designated committee of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) to negotiate grievances as promised in the strike settlement.

Lorne Nelles, SWOC director here, has issued a statement charging that C. L. Baker, the local plant personnel manager, has "refused to admit the committee because he objected to certain of its members." There's a name for the kind of union whose committees are named by the bosses. It's called a 'company union,' that's what Bethlehem Steel wants to deal with.

WORKERS' SPIRITS HIGH

But the Lackawanna workers are in no mood to be kicked around. After the recent strike, the workers trooped back into the plant in a fighting, defiant spirit, with their union buttons plastered all over their hats and coats. And that's something Eugene Grace thought he'd never live to see.

The SWOC today sent telegrams to Roosevelt and the members of the Office for Production Management demanding that the government take immediate action to compel the company to live up to its agreement, based on the proposals of the OPM, or the union would not be responsible for any further "breakdown" in Bethlehem Steel production.

Another strike at the Lackawanna plant would not find the workers so willing to go back to work on the limited terms accepted in the first strike. They know their organized power now, and they also know that there are 60,000 other Bethlehem workers in the country who have been inspired by the Lackawanna strike.

HUGE PROFITS

The corporation had the best year of its history in 1940, soaking away $48,677,524 in net profits. Little of these huge "earnings" have gone into wage boosts for the speeded-up workers. Bethlehem Steel has a back-log of $1,500,000,000 in government war orders — one-third of all the war contracts so far granted in the entire country — enough to keep the company operating at capacity for the next three years.

Because of these government contracts, granted despite the company's repeated citation by the National Labor Relations Board for illegal labor practices, the company feels it has the tacit backing of the government in carrying out its open-shop anti-union policies.

In addition, the company has some $750,000,000 in assets, accumulated out of its half century of bitter labor exploitation, which it is ready to employ to defeat the union.

NEW SITUATION

But the situation is not quite the same as it was in 1919 or 1937. In 1919, the company smashed the strike because of the general weakness of the union movement and the ease with which it could get scab labor. During the Little Steel strike of 1937, union organization in Bethlehem Steel was too weak to effect any genuine walk-out.

Today, labor is organized as never before in American history. It's a lot harder to get scabs. And the SWOC is firmly entrenched throughout the Bethlehem Steel domain.

A second strike in any Bethlehem plant might easily spread to all its plants, mines and shipyards, in cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

THE COMPANY'S DOMAIN

Other company steel plants are located in Sparrows Point, Md.; Bethlehem, Johnstown, Pottstown, Coatesville, Steelton, Danville, Williamsport and Lebanon, Pa.; Wilmington, Del.; Tulsa, Okla.; Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The shipbuilding plants of the company are located in New York City, Baltimore, Quincy, Mass.; Sparrows Point, San Francisco, Alameda and San Pedro, Calif.

In addition, the company owns coal mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, iron mines in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Chile, Cuba and Venezuela, and limestone quarries in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Cuba.

Harvester Strike In 7th Week

Back To Work Move Flops; Men Are Firm

CHICAGO, March 9. — The strike of 14,000 workers at four plants of the International Harvester Company is holding solid against the combined pressure of the company, labor board and the AFL.

Six weeks ago the Harvester tractor plant here was shut down, followed by walkouts at IHC plants in Rock Falls, Ill., and Richmond, Ind.

The strikes were called by the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) after two years of company discrimination against its members and the company's recognition of a company union.

AFL'S SCAB ROLE

When the National Labor Relations Board ordered the company to disband this fake outfit, the AFL lent its name to the company union.

The latest move of the company has been to make various unsuccessful attempts to stir up dissension among the strikers and start a back-to-work movement.

The AFL is lending its aid to this strike-breaking move. Frank Fenton, AFL director of organization here, called a meeting to induce the IHC workers to go back to work. About 700 attended, including a large percentage of foremen and other company stooges, to hear Fenton term the McCormick strike a "lockout" against the "communist" CIO. The meeting passed a resolution asking the company to "open the gates for those employees who desire to work."

Part of the company's strategy to break the strike is to call for a labor board election, on the grounds that it does not know which union to recognize, the CIO or the AFL-labeled company union. The whole move is to get the workers to go back to work. Once the workers return, the company intends to use every manner of fraud, pressure and bribery to outvote the CIO.

This is what happened in the 17 months CIO strike at Hearst's *Herald-American* here. Among those who voted were strike-breakers and scabs hired after the strike started, and management executives.

A conference this past week-end in Washington between the company, federal conciliators and the CIO union representatives ended without any agreement, because the company is insistent on such an election before it will negotiate.

But the workers have already voted for the CIO by their actions in support of the CIO picket line. The plants are shut down, and the FEWOC says they'll stay that way until the company recognizes the union of the workers' choice.

This Makes Four Of A Kind

Pickets guarding one of the entrances to the strike-bound McCormick plant of the International Harvester Company in Chicago. The strike at this plant brings the number of IHC strikers to over 14,000 in four plants. The strike was called by the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (CIO).

U. S. Steel Gets Demand For New Union Contract

SWOC's Formal Notice For Negotiations Cancels Old Contract; Ten Cents An Hour Raise For Common Labor Is Chief Demand

Formal negotiations for a new contract between U. S. Steel and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) will open next week in an atmosphere of grim conflict and with the union on the offensive.

At a meeting of 150 representatives of the 66 U.S. Steel lodges of the SWOC, held in Pittsburg last week-end, the union rejected company proposals for a 2½ cents an hour pay increase and is demanding a 10 cents an hour raise for all common labor.

Philip Murray, SWOC head, and the other executive officers were instructed by the conference to "take such steps and adopt such program of action which they, in their discretion, may deem advisable or necessary for the purpose of securing improved wages and working conditions in accordance with the program of the SWOC."

CONTRACT EXPIRES

A written notice has been sent to the corporation, the largest steel manufacturer in the world, asking for a formal conference with the union on a new agreement. Under the present contract, which has been in effect since 1937, service of such notice automatically terminates the contract in thirty days.

This formal notice was served after six "informal" conferences between union representatives and the company, held since November, reached no agreement.

GIGANTIC PROFITS

U. S. Steel, as pointed out by Philip Murray, made $102,000,000 net profits in 1940, and is expected to net over $200,000,000 in 1941. During the last war the corporation netted $800,000,000 profits.

U. S. Steel, backed behind the scenes by important Roosevelt administration officials, has balked at wage increases, arguing that these would bring higher steel prices and start an upward general price spiral which would lead to "inflation."

UNION DEBUNKS ALIBI

The union points out that the corporation could easily lay out the additional $52,000,000 in wages demanded by the workers and still make greater profits than in any year since the last war, and without raising steel prices.

The termination of the U. S. Steel contract will coincide with the ending on March 31 of the present contract of 440,000 members of the United Mine Workers (CIO) and the major group of soft coal operators. If the present negotiations of the miners produce no new contract by then, the miners, as is their tradition, will go on a "work holiday." They will not work without a contract even for a day.

The present prevailing wage in U. S. Steel for common labor is $5 a day.

Other vital demands beside the 10-cent an hour increase have been served upon U. S. Steel. These include the following:

1. Exclusive bargaining rights for all U. S. Steel workers (261,000) as a corporation unit, instead of the present agreement providing for separate contracts in each of the 66 plants and covering only union members.

2. A 48 hour rest period in each calendar week, instead of the present clause which permits the company to work the men 10 straight days without rest.

3. Time and a half pay for overtime for work over eight hours in any one day or in excess of 40 hours in any calendar week, and for all time worked during the 48 hour rest period.

4. One week's vacation with pay for workers employed one to five years, and two weeks for those employed longer than five years.

5. Improvement of the grievance machinery to provide for speedier adjustment of grievances in each plant.

6. Equalization of pay for the same classifications of work.

7. Provisions for reinstatement in employment of union men drafted into the military forces.

8. Seniority upon the basis of length of employment and on no other factor.

9. Adequate machinery to permit the union to collect dues from the workers benefiting by the contract.

James B. McNamara Dies

Death last Saturday released James B. McNamara, world's oldest class-war prisoner in point of time served, from his 30 year prison hell in the California penitentiaries.

McNamara was sentenced to life imprisonment on December 5, 1911 by a California boss court for the alleged bombing of the Los Angeles *Times* building on October 1, 1910. His conviction was the outcome of a fierce and bloody war upon organized labor by West Coast open-shop forces led by General H. C. Otis, the *Times* publisher.

For 30 years, 25 of them spent in San Quentin penitentiary and the last five in the state's disciplinary penal institute, Folsom Penitentiary, McNamara bore without flinching the deliberate persecutions of the prison authorities. They could not break his spirit nor cause him to yield an inch in his indomitable opposition to the boss class and his devotion to organized labor.

His death followed two operations for abdominal cancer induced by three decades of rotten prison fare and aggravated by medical neglect. His transfer to the prison hospital at San Quentin where he died was permitted only last February 13, although he had been desperately ill for five years in Folsom, where he was denied privileges, worked beyond his strength and refused adequate medical care.

McNamara was an organizer for the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers at the time of his arrest. His activity and that of his union on behalf of West Coast labor had aroused the wrath of the open-shop interests. They were determined to get him, and through his conviction to smear organized labor throughout the country and break the back of the rising union movement.

McNamara, together with his brother, John, who was arrested and accused at the same time, became the center of one of the greatest defense movements ever organized in this country. American labor rallied to their defense, raising a defense fund of a quarter of a million dollars. Clarence Darrow was their counsel.

For months, the brothers unwaveringly denied their guilt. Their case became the focal point for a vicious attack upon the entire trade union movement. In an effort to ease the pressure upon the labor movement by the bosses, certain individuals in the labor movement and interested liberals thought up the idea of getting the brothers to sacrifice themselves by pleading guilty in return for an agreement from the employers that there would be no further prosecutions of labor leaders and that a conference of capital and labor would be held to "iron out" their differences.

J. B. McNamara

At the age of 29, when sentenced to life imprisonment in 1911.

After the heaviest pressure was brought to bear on them by their own associates, who argued that a guilty plea would end the immediate persecution of other labor leaders, the brothers finally entered a plea of guilty. According to the terms agreed upon by the bosses, James was to receive life imprisonment, his brother just a brief term and the rest of the contemplated prosecutions would be dropped.

The bosses, of course, violated the agreement. James received his life sentence, and John was sentenced to 15 years, of which he served ten. Within six months, 54 other labor leaders were indicted in the famous "dynamite conspiracy" frame-ups growing out of the McNamara case. Thirty-eight were sentenced to prison terms for one to seven years. In 1915, two others were also convicted.

McNamara lived up to his end of the bargain. He sacrified 30 years of his life and freedom and did not waver once. He upheld the union movement to the end.

Together with all progressive forces of labor, we pay tribute to one of the noblest fighters for his class in American labor history.

Wall St. Planned GM Provocation

Recent Provocations Are Spearhead In A Drive To Smash The UAW-CIO Altogether

FLINT, Mich., March 5. — Wall Street has launched a campaign, centered in General Motors, to smash the work standards established in the past period by the United Automobile Workers. This campaign is part of a grand strategy to smash unionism in auto, under cover of "National Defense" and is directed by the ruthless General Staff of Morgan-Dupont.

This was revealed unwittingly in an article February 24 in the *Wall Street Journal*, spokesman for the banker-industrialist.

This article further revealed that the discharge of 82 union men at the Fisher Body I plant in Flint, was not merely as a result of an unauthorized walkout, but as a part of the general scheme to wrest the work standards away from the union in GM and to institute a speed up on a grand scale.

"Passenger car output for the remainder of 1941 . . . is threatened by the prospects of strikes..." says the *Wall Street Journal*.

A DELIBERATE PLOT

Why? Is it because the workers are irresponsible and anxious for strikes?

Not on your life! Here is the real reason, as given by the *Wall Street Journal:*

"A showdown is approaching on the measure of control that management is to have in fixing production standards... Both CIO and AFL branches of the United Auto Workers are involved in this contest. Before it is ended, production in several plants may be interrupted. GENERAL MOTORS MAY BE ONE OF THE FIRST COMPANIES TO ENCOUNTER TROUBLE."

When a statement like that appears in the *Wall Street Journal* it may be taken confidently as a tip-off on what the employers in auto are planning behind the scenes. It means that the auto barons are planning to smash work standards, even at the cost of strikes if necessary. It means that they are playing a bold game trying to provoke action, feeling that at this time, in the midst of war ballyhoo, they can beat the union in a fight.

Given this statement in the *Wall Street Journal*, it is now simple to understand what is behind the trouble at the Fisher Body plants in Flint, Lansing and Detroit, where constant attempts at speed-up have been directed at the men, especially in the trim shops.

A DEAD GIVE-AWAY

The *Wall St. Journal* goes even further, and practically confesses in so many words, that the discharge of 82 men on the trim line at Flint Fisher Body 1 was only a part of the game to wreck the standards in General Motors, the company chosen by Wall Street, as the best arena for its attempt to destroy the UAW.

"The most important step taken by management to retain—or, as management sees it, to regain—control of production standards from the UAW was taken Friday night by General Motors Corp. At its Fisher Body No. 1 plant at Flint, 81 workers (actually 82) were discharged for participating in an unauthorized walkout."

The above paragraph means clearly that the firing of 82 men for an unauthorized walkout, was only a part of the general strategy to speed up production in GM. It means that all the raving about responsibility and wildcat actions is so much hogwash in an attempt to cover up the real issue—speed-up.

It also means that when Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas side with the company in these provoked walkouts, they are merely playing into the hands of Wall Street and aiding them in their plan to destroy the UAW, which Reuther and Thomas are supposed to represent. It also means that the whole International Executive board of the UAW has failed to understand what the game of the company actually is, and their whole policy of "respectability" serves as a good cover for the auto baron's speed-up campaign.

UNION MUST ACT

If the UAW is to stop this campaign to destroy work standards, a determined stand must be taken. It cannot be met by Thomas' police measures against wildcat actions, which are clearly provoked by the corporations in their well-planned campaign. It must be met by an equally well-planned union campaign of offensive against the corporations, especially GM, the chosen battlefield, to defend and extend the rights of unionism.

The Fisher Body incident was not an isolated example of "irresponsible unionism" as Thomas has said. It is a part of the General Motors-wide speed-up drive!

The 82 discharged employes at Fisher No. 1 are not a bunch of "hotheads" as Walter Reuther would have the UAW believe. These 82 are the victims of the General Motors anti-union drive... and the victims also of the shortsightedness and stupidity of the International Leadership of the UAW.

NOW'S THE TIME!

The *Wall Street Journal* also points out very cleverly, that by Spring, as a result of steel priorities going to war industries, there may be considerable curtailment of ordinary production.

"Should the industry run into premature curtailment this spring, due to material shortages . . . the union shop drive would be less effective," says the *Wall Street Journal*.

Wall Street makes clear that if the union men of the UAW want to win the union shop, if they want to establish better conditions, they had better do it now!

Union militants have understood what the problems were, before the *Wall Street Journal* openly revealed them. But now that it is an open secret, what excuse have Thomas, Reuther, Addes and Frankensteen for following their pussyfoot policy? The corporations have told you what their plan is! Only a militant defense of union conditions, only a sharp about-face from the policy of pro-company action in cases of "unauthorized" strikes can save the UAW.

SWP Fights Against Ban On CP In Penna.

PHILADELPHIA, March 7. — Branches of the Socialist Workers Party in Pennsylvania are launching a vigorous campaign against enactment of a bill now before the state legislature in Harrisburg which would bar the Communist Party from the state election ballot.

The proposed bill, which has the backing of the most reactionary business groups in the state, is in hearing before the state Senate Judiciary General Committee.

A protest telegram against enactment of the bill has been sent by the Philadelphia SWP branch to the Senate committee. The telegram reads as follows:

"The Socialist Workers Party vigorously protests bill before your committee to bar Communist Party from the ballot in Pennsylvania. Passage would mean serious infringement of democratic rights of minority parties. We condemn bill as a pretext for striking blows at genuine anti-war section of labor movement in drive of government toward war. We urge immediate quashing of bill."

In a statement released to the press today, the state secretary of the Pennsylvania section of the SWP declared in part:

"We disagree emphatically with the policies and practices of the Communist Party. It is neither a genuine revolutionary nor an anti-war party. Nevertheless, we defend any workers' organization, regardless of how sharply we disagree with its program and leadership, against the attacks of the boss class and its government.

The Negro And The U. S. Army

The Story Of What Happened To The Colored Soldiers And Officers In 1917

By EUGENE VARLIN

Distribution of the Negro Troops

According to the official statistics well over 60 per cent of the Negroes were doing laborious work which did not involve the use of arms. On June 23, 1918, when about 237,000 Negroes had been called, the radio of the non-combatant to the combatant was about four to one. The non-combatant troops were grouped in Butchery Companies 322 and 363, Stevedore Regiments 301, 302, and 303, Stevedore Battalions 701 and 702, Engineer Service Battalions 505-550, Labor Service Battalions 304-315, 329-348, and 357, Labor Companies 301,324, and in Pioneer Labor Battalions 801,809, 811, and 813-816.

The Negro combat troops were almost totally excluded from the artillery, the cavalry and aeronautics, the more effective branches of the army.

925 Negroes received commissions in line organizations 356 in the Medical Corps, 65 in the Dental Corps, 1 in the Sanitary Corps; there were 60 chaplains. Leaving aside the question of the removal of Negro officers, this means that the Negroes, who contributed 13.08% of the enlisted troops had a total of 1,408 or about seven-tenths of one per cent of the approximately 200,000 officers commissioned during the World War.

The Negroes were bluntly told that they were wanted only for the mess departments in the Navy.

Secretary of War Baker, in reply to the protests of the Negroes, said that the colored people lived in a certain customary relation to the population as a whole and that there was nothing wrong in transferring this relation to the armed forces. He forgot for the moment that the Negroes had been told that those forces were fighting for democracy!

The Colored Officer

There were only a few Negro officers in the American Army when the United States entered the war — a lieutenant-colonel, a major, and one or two lieutenants. No Negroes had been admitted to either West Point or Annapolis for a number of years. A military department has been kept up at Wilberforce University, a Negro school, and about sixty-five of its graduates and undergraduates were commissioned during the World War.

The government inaugurated a system of officers' training camps soon after its entry into the war. "Strange and paradoxical as it may seem, America, while fighting for the democratization of far-off European peoples was denying democracy to a part of her citizens at home . . . Fourteen camps were instituted for the training of WHITE (Scott's emphasis) officers — none for colored officers, nor were colored officers admitted to any of these camps." Such is the testimony of Emmet J. Scott, Negro assistant to Secretary of War Baker.

On May 12, 1917, the War Department yielded to the pressure of the Negro masses, promising to train 1,250 Negro officers at Camp Des Moines in Iowa. The Negroes were jubilant over their victory.

The upper-class Negro predominated at the Des Moines school. Few were accepted who did not have a college education. In addition to these colored college students and professionals, 250 candidates were drawn from the four Negro regiments in the regular army. Prospective white officers spent only six weeks in training; the Negroes, on the other hand, were originally supposed to train from June 15 to September 15; this was later extended a month, making four months in all.

Only 639 or about half of the 1,250 students attending the Des Moines school received commissions. Since the higher officers of the Negro regiments would be whites, the Negroes were limited to the lowest positions. 105 were made captains; 329, first lieutenants; and 204, second lieutenants. There was an unwritten rule that no colored man in training should receive a commission higher than that of captain.

On one occasion, even General Ballou attacked the refusal of the War Department to accept his recommendation to promote a Negro officer. Ballou wrote:

"This officer (Lieutenant T. T. Thompson) was originally assigned to duty as Acting Personnel Officer, in which capacity he did good work, and was recommended to be promoted Captain with a view to being assigned to duty as permanent Personnel Officer. This was disapproved by the War Department on the ground that the Personnel Officer should be 'white' . . .

"The result has been the discouragement and lessened efficiency of an officer of considerable promise who has much justice on his side in alleging race discrimination."

Handicaps were placed in the way of the Negro officers. No instruction in artillery was given at Des Moines. It was then claimed that no Negroes could quality as officers of the contemplated Negro artillery unit. The Negroes compelled the War Department to back down on its stand. In the end, however, only six Negro artillery officers, at long last, on June 10, 1918, left for France.

The Negro troops were not furnished with a sufficient number of medical officers. The resentment of the colored press was great because, while many Negro physicians, surgeons, and dentists were serving as privates, white medical officers had been given positions in the Negro regiments.

"The fate of the colored officers," says Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, "depended almost absolutely on those placed in higher command. Moreover, American military trials and legal procedures . . . give the accused little chance if the accuser is determined and influential." One example was the fate of Charles Young, who had graduated West Point and risen to the position of Colonel. He was sixth in line for promotion to Brigadier General. As such, he would have been entitled to lead the Negro combat division. *Just one day* before a long list of brigadier-generals were made Young was "found physically unfit and retired from active service." Somehow Young, after the war, was found strong enough to be sent by the army for service in Africa. A white colonel remarked in his introduction of Colonel Young to a public meeting in December, 1919, that "it was very plain that the only reason why this dark-skinned military officer had been retired, was that the army did not want a black general."

To quiet the clamor that arose on Young's retirement, another Negro, Colonel Dennison, was placed at the head of the 370th U. S. Infantry. But in France the colored Colonel was sent home for no stated reason. He was replaced by a white Colonel whom the men of the regiment openly jeered.

White officers often refused to salute Negro officers, fights sometimes resulting. The leaders of the American army found a way to stick to the rules and still keep the Negro officer in his place. General Adelbert Cronkhite of Camp Lee, Viriginia, was quoted in a Richmond daily and in the camp newspaper as follows:

"I met some junior officers who said they were not keen on saluting Negro officers. They would not feel that way if they understood the spirit of the salute. If one of them came from a town where there was an old Negro character, one of those old fellows who do odd jobs and is known to everybody, he'd at least nod his head and say, 'Howdy, uncle.' Now, suppose through some freak of nature this Old Negro should be transplanted into an officer's uniform; the salute would be merely saying to him 'Howdy, uncle,' in a military way."

* * *

(This is the fourth article in this series.

Newark Labor And The Tax Question

By GEORGE BREITMAN

The coming Newark City Commission elections may very well be decided around the issue of the ever-rising tax rate, which was $4.85 last year and which is driving thousands of homeowners, grocers and small shop-keepers to ruin, at the same time that it is partially responsible for the rising cost of rent for the workers.

The forces of big business in Newark, are uniting around the coalition ticket of Commissioner Byrne (Hague Democrat) and Reverend Clee (Republican who was almost elected Governor a few years ago by denouncing Hagueism) and Company.

Crying crocodile tears about the plight of small business (when what interests them alone is the taxation of the big businesses, corporations and insurance companies), they say substantially the following:

"The tax rate is high and will ruin us all if we don't do something about it. We must put people into office who will cut the tax rate. The way to do it is to elect honest men who will cut relief, because most relief clients are 'chiselers' anyhow. Stop sponsoring WPA projects, because there are plenty of jobs available in private industry. Fire more school teachers. Cut down on the City Hospital. Don't waste money on the library budget. Don't permit erection of new schools. Cut the wages of city employees." And so on.

The Ellenstein group has no satisfactory answer to the problem either. When the pressure for reductions is put on them, they respond by cutting the same things the Byrne-Clee group want to cut: the socially necessary items which are used primarily by the workers.

Secondly, it must be remembered that the more money they spend, the more patronage they have. This is a very important consideration for a group whose main program is stay in power at all costs.

Every taxpayer is thinking about the 1941 tax rate in connection with the election. In most years, the rate is figured out and announced in February or March.

Unable to answer the problem satisfactorily, City Hall has decided to get around it — by not announcing the 1941 rate until after the May 13 elections!

OUR ANSWER

There is an answer to the problem which would cut the tax rate and at the same time provide the necessary money for relief, library, etc. This answer has been presented by the Socialist Workers Party on numerous occasions. It has not been picked up by the City Hall group, in spite of its claims that it represents the interests of the "common people," for only a party that is really opposed to big business could espouse and fight for it. For this reason, among others, we are calling for the formation of a labor party, based on the unions and embracing the unemployed and Negro groups, and running its own candidates on an independent platform.

The 1940 budget was 55 million dollars. Of this, more than 9½ millions were for debt services, the largest single item in the budget. Of this, part is for amortization (repayment of past bond issues) and the rest is for interest on these loans.

STEP NO. 1

There could be a large cut in the tax rate if the City Commission let the banks and bonding houses go without some of that money this year. The city's bonds should be recalled and refinanced at a lower interest rate. Of course, this would mean the bonding houses wouldn't make so much money, but it would also mean that the taxpayers would get some real relief.

The city could go further, as some municipalities have, by just declaring a moratorium on debt services. The bankers would howl about "the sanctity of contracts," but what they would mean really is "the sanctity of foreclosures on small homes" and "the sanctity of higher rents in the workers' districts."

STEP NO. 2

The second way to reduce the tax rate is by reassessing the property of the city. Many small homes are still assessed at close to pre-depression values, while on the other hand the larger properties are assessed below their market values. Reassessment of property that would raise assessment figures on the corporations and lower them on the small taxpayers woul lower the tax *rate* and at the same time would make the corporations pay more in *taxes*, thus placing the burden of taxation where it belongs, on big business which can afford to pay it.

Since the Socialist Workers Party put this program forward, City Hall has adopted a weak and distorted variant of it. In an effort to cut the tax rate this election year, they are refinancing a small part of the bonds in the sinking fund. But they are afraid to go through with refinancing all of them, although that's the only way to get a real tax rate reduction. And

Similarly, they began a reassessment of property with these results:

The 1937 total assessment of almost a billion dollars was cut 67 millions by 1938, and another 67 millions the next year; 1940 reductions were 51 millions, and this year 53 millions. Had both big taxpayers and small taxpayers received the same proportionate reductions, this would mean the tax rate goes up the same for both.

But there was a change. Out of this reduction of almost a quarter billion dollars, the bulk of reductions in assessment were made for big business, while the reductions for the small tax-payers have been comparatively small.

This is one reason why our slogan in this election campaign is: LET LABOR CONTROL THE CITY COMMISSION! Only a labor party can win the friendly support of the small taxpayer and form a successful alliance against the aims of big business.

Why We Supported The A. L. P.

An Answer To Critics On The Principles Involved In Backing Eugene Connolly

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Judging by remarks made by some of our sympathizers, the decision of the New York Local of our party to give critical support to Eugene P. Connolly, running for Congress on the American Labor Party ticket, is not very well understood. Subjected to any Marxist analysis the decision of the New York Local is completely justified.

To support or not to support another workers' party in an election is not at all a question of principle. There are no general rules which can be followed in determining when and whether a revolutionary Marxist party should give critical support to a candidate of another workers' party. The only general rule that can be followed is that a decision to give critical support to a Labor party or any party of workers should further the interests of the working class and consequently of the revolutionary party.

It can be seen that a rule so general cannot alone aid us in determining our decision in a specific situation. There is no way to avoid an analysis of all the factors to determine whether supporting or not supporting another working-class party furthers the interests of the class and of the party at a particular time.

WE ARE FOR AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

In the first place, it must be remembered that our party favors the building of a Labor party, that is, of a party organized and controlled by the trade unions or a substantial portion of them. Under conditions where the vast majority of the workers support capitalist parties, the creation of an independent Labor party would constitute a tremendous step forward. We must therefore do everything in our power to further the building of such a party.

It would be absurd for us to wait until a Labor party is created on a national scale before supporting a local Labor party. Whenever and wherever there is a local Labor party which has substantial support from organized labor we should support it against capitalist parties unless there are valid reasons for not doing so. To pile up as many votes as possible for a local Labor party helps build one on a national scale.

Are we in a position to get on the ballot and run our independent candidate? Is the party that we are thinking of supporting a real Labor party or only one on paper? Even though it is a small party will our support help build a larger Labor party? Will running our own candidate help elect to office a reactionary candidate? All these and other questions must be analyzed before a decision is taken either way.

A reason that would justify support of another party at one time would not justify supporting it at a different time and under different circumstances.

And what has been said with reference to supporting a Labor party is also true with reference to the question of giving critical support to the candidates of a workers' party that is not strictly a Labor party, such as the Socialist or Communist parties. If in any country or in any locality of this country there is no Labor party but there is a strong Socialist or Communist party we are not at all in principle committed to the idea of refusing to give critical support to the candidates of such a party. Our decision will always be determined by the particular factors that prevail.

THE ALP HAS REAL TRADE UNION SUPPORT

It is enough to state that a substantial number of important trade unions constitute the backbone of the American Labor party to realize that it is not a paper Labor party. It has not as many unions as we would like to see it have. The pro-Roosevelt and pro-war right wing withdrew its support and thus reduced the number of trade unions supporting the Labor party but enough important trade unions are left in the party to justify the statement that it is a real Labor party and that its growth will help build a Labor party on the American scene. From the point of view of our general program of helping build a Labor party, giving critical support to Connolly was the only justifiable tactic.

A factor of importance in our decision to support the ALP candidate was the anti-war program of that party. It is of course out of the question for us to support a Republican or Democratic candidate even though for one reason or another such a candidate happens to come out against war. All the reformists of the district where the election is taking place are supporting the pro-war Democratic candidate. We could not support a Labor party candidate who is in favor of entry into the imperialist war or of any measures, such as the lease-lend bill, which constitute steps towards entry.

I can hear the sectarians shout that Connolly is not really against the imperialist war; his program is an isolationist and pacifist program. To that we answer that the workers supporting Connolly think that he actually will be a fighter against the imperialist war. We don't like the program and we have not hesitated to say so. But the fact remains that the ALP is considered by the workers as an anti-war party. The program of a party to which we give critical support will never be completely to our liking. If it were we would immediately offer to merge with it and not simply give it critical support.

YES, WE'LL FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE WITH STALINISTS

Many well-meaning people are horrified at the idea that we are supporting a Stalinist-controlled party. But we must not forget that this Stalinist-controlled party is backed by Stalinist-controlled unions and we have at no time and we shall never at any time oppose workers' organizations simply because they are Stalinist-led. We want to remind our critics that we support the Soviet Union against any imperialist attack and the Soviet Union is led by Stalin himself.

We can even whisper to our critics that if we deemed it advisable and of benefit to our party and consequentiy to the working class we would not hesitate to give critical support to Browder running on the Communist party ticket. We are now defending Browder and Bridges against the repressive attacks of the government.

Our politics are not determined by hate or a desire for revenge but solely by what we think furthers the interests of the revolutionary movement. It is unfortunate but it is a fact that we can not ignore, that there are many thousands of militant workers that are in the ranks of the Communist Party and many more thousands support it. It is also an unfortunate fact that these workers do not agree with our criticisms of the Stalinist leadership. They do not believe what is obvious to us, that the GPU for instance, is a murder machine directed against the interests of the revolution.

THE EFFECT OF OUR SUPPORT TO THE ALP

It is in reality these militant workers that we support and not the Stalinist bureaucrats. To the rank and file we say: You do not agree with our program and our criticism of your leadership; you think that your party is really a revolutionary party. We do not agree with you but nevertheless we shall fight with you against the capitalist class. We shall show you in real life that everything the Stalinist leaders tell you about us are lies and nothing but lies.

Our support of Connolly does not mean that we give up our program. Not for one minute. We continue fighting the Stalinist bureaucrats, criticising their program and trying to convince the rank and file that we are correct. In the last analysis the tactic of giving critical support to the American Labor party is a tactic which is best suited to destroy the influence of the Stalinist leaders on the militant rank and file and to convince them of the correctness of our program.

Joe Gouailhardou

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal. — Joe Gouailhardou, youngest fighter in the '34 maritime and general strike, is dead. He was killed when his automobile struck a telephone pole.

Joe went to sea to support his family at the age of 13 as soon as he graduated grade school. A year later the maritime strike found him actively engaged on the workers' battlefront. Too young for actual picket duty, the strike committee used his willing services for messenger work and a hundred other duties.

Joe sailed in the stewards department; at the time of his death he was already a veteran although but 21, member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards.

Comrade Gouailhardou joined the YPSL some two and a half years ago. It was at his own request, although he was under the constitutional age, that he was transferred into the Socialist Workers Party. Despite his youth Joe was a man among men, and above all a revolutionist.

Joe's untimely death robs the movement of a promising young revolutionist, whose place will not easily be filled.

Goodbye, Joe! We'll carry on.

A Scottish Labor Paper On British "Democracy"

The real situation in Great Britain is illumined by the following editorial in the January 25, 1941 issue of THE FORWARD, a labor weekly of Glasgow, Scotland. THE FORWARD is scarcely a revolutionary newspaper; but occasionally its comments are well worth reprinting. The editorial, entitled "Old School Tie," follows in full:

The letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham and published on the leading page of the "Times" has roused a storm of protest.

"Never was the old school tie and the best that it stands for more justified than it is to-day," wrote the Lieutenant-Colonel, declaring that the new type of army officers from the democracy were not doing their jobs.

It is interesting to note that the "Times" thought this letter of such importance as to publis it on the page it reserves for important communications.

The War Office has repudiated the Lieutenant-Colonel and the popular press is full of articles denouncing the studipidity and snobbery expressed in his letter.

A well-known Scots educationalist, Sir William McKechnie, has this week concisely summed up the Lieutenant-Colonel's letter as drivelling nonsense and added the pertinent comment:—

"The 'old-school-tie' superstition must be destroyed for ever, because it meant that one class and one race—one group of people of wealth—were going to say that nobody but themselves were fitted to govern or lead the men of this Empire. The thing was utterly opposed to any idea of commonsense or the desire to get the best out of the available material of this country."

But is the old-school-tie point of view confined to a few snobbish, old-style army officers?

In spite of all our democratic pretensions, is the influence of the class that the old school tie represents not a tremendous power in the land?

Indeed, is it not powerfully represented in the present Government?

At the last re-shuffle of the Cabinet the "Daily Express" announced the changes under the heading:—

"FOUR MEN IN NEW JOBS.
Three Eton and Oxford,
Only One from Harrow."

The slightest glance at the composition of the Government is sufficient to reveal that in it the influence of the old school tie predominates.

It does not express its point of view as crudely and blatantly as does the Lieutenant-Colonel in his letter, but it is there all the same.

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MASS MEETING ! !

The GPU and the Communist International

Speaker:

Albert Goldman

Recently returned from Mexico where, as attorney for Natalia Sedov Trotsky, he cross-examined the GPU assassin who sank a pick axe in the brain of Leon Trotsky.

HEAR:

The facts which brand Stalin as murderer of Leon Trotsky.

An exposure of GPU machinations to free the Stalinist gangsters who machine-gunned Trotsky's bed room on May 24, 1940.

BEETHOVEN HALL
210 East 5th Street New York City

FRIDAY: March 28

The meeting will begin promptly at 8:30 P.M.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Jim Crow Plans of the Bourbons

There is an interesting story in Charley Cherokee's column, "National Grapevine," in the March 9 issue of the *Chicago Defender:*

"Last week army big shots had a secret and informal session where they admitted concern over the attacks on the army for maintaining Jim Crow. One old colonel demanded peevishly: 'Why in hell don't they shoot at the navy and marines for a while?' It was agreed that the program for the next few months will be to procrastinate and stall the critics by pointing to Brigadier General Davis and the Negro commissioned officers now on active duty . . .

"These big shots are naive. Any Negro high school kid knows that General Davis will retire in a few months and that when the National Guards leave, there will hardly be a commissioned Negro officer in the army."

* * *

That the conditions described about the Negro in the first world war in the series of articles by Eugene Varlin in *The Militant* hold true for today was corroborated by Duncan Aikman in his series of articles on the "national defense" program currently appearing in the *Washington Post:*

"I found a widespread inclination throughout the South to look upon the defense crisis as another crisis in labor relations. Southerner after Southerner, in various economic brackets, said to me substantially this:

"We're not going to let the colored man come out of this war on top of the heap the way he did in the last one.'

"That means, and plenty of Southerners state it specifically, no colored officers, this time; no colored skilled labor training and, if avoidable, not even any colored combat regiments."

* * * *

The Negro worker certainly did not come out on top of the heap in the last war, but what these southern crackers mean was that in the labor shortage of the last war many Negroes left the South for jobs in the industries of the North.

According to a speech at Kentucky State College by Robert Weaver, Negro administrative assistant of the advisory commission to the National Defense Council, the crackers need not worry about a repetition of what happened in the last war.

For the Negro is being kept out in the cold in the present industrial boom, according to Weaver, and from present indications, he will continue to be kept there. What is chiefly required by industry today is skilled and semi-skilled labor. The Negro, by and large, has been and is denied the opportunity to get skilled training.

Discrimination in Military Training

The *Afro-American* this week showed that Jim Crow treatment of the Negro soldiers is just as well organized in the northern camps as it is in the southern.

It showed that while the 20,000 or more white soldiers at Fort Dix, N. J., have been given training with rifles, steel helmets, masks, etc., "and afforded miles of wide open space for sham battles," "the 381 colored selectees of Company E are forced to drill on an acre plot without as much as a broomstick."

"White army officials who were appoached (for an explanation) appeared more eager to discuss the musical and entertainment abilities of the men.

"While none would admit that racial discrimination and segregation is being practiced at the post, all point with pride to the new cantonment area for the 372nd Infantry Regiment which is located beyong Hopkinsville—nearly three miles from the nearest white cantonment, and will be occupied around March 10.

"The cantonment, which will house 3,000 troops, in view of its isolated location, is definitely a segregated set-up.

"Because of the objection of the Southern white soldiers to sitting in the theatre with the colored soldiers, a separate theatre has been built at the new cantonment area for the members of the 372nd.

"Other entertainment features have also been taken care of in order that the colored troops will have no reason to leave their own cantonment. One high army official hinted that the 372nd will have its own maneuver area."

* * *

"England is not perfect, but she is better than Germany," said the good Bishop J. K. Humphrey of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in New York last week. "Every Negro who wants to see Germany win, ought to be sent to Germany, where he will be castrated."

By the same logic one could insist that every American Negro who wants to see the victory of the British Empire, which rules over more than 400,000,000 colored people in the same way that Hitler rules over his subjects, himself, should be sent to Africa, where he will be castrated economically, politically and socially.

* * *

2,500 West Indians at a mass meeting in Port Au Spain, Trinidad, passed resolutions last month demanding (1) the outlawing of United States Jim Crow on British bases being leased to the U. S., and (2) payment of the same wages for labor by the U. S. in the British West Indies as in the Virgin Islands and Cuba.

West Indies wages, according to Nancy Cunard, are now:

Oil industry: 80c. to $1.20 for 8-9 hour day.

Sugar: 30c. to $1.00 for 12 hour day.

Cocoa and coffee pickers: men 40-45c, women, 20-25c, per day.

Pork, she points out, costs 30c a pound.

Wages in the Virgin Islands are 17c an hour, and in Cuba on "national defense work" $2.24 a day.

Who Defends The Terrorists?

Stalinists Would Free Siqueiros, The Murderer Of Bob Harte

By NATALIA TROTSKY

On March 1, 1941, *El Popular* carried an account of the "just concluded Congress of the Mexican Confederation of Labor (CTM)"; *El Popular* also reprinted a resolution adopted by the Congress. Every honest reader will be astounded by the section of this resolution which reads: "The Congress also declares itself (this "also" is incredible!) in favor of the revolutionary painter, David Alfaro Siqueiros and will take all the necessary steps in the case."

The contempt of these completely demoralized people for the working class is without limits; there is no limit to their cynicism. They refuse to remember their own yesterday and they are not accountable for tomorrow. Through their lies, their slander, their fantastic confusion, their crying contradictions, they corrupt the consciousness of the working class. Their own yesterday reads: "The attempt against Trotsky is an attempt against Mexico." This slogan was repeated in every single column of the front page of *El Popular* for May 25, 1940. The leading editorial, under the self-same heading, demanded a rigorous investigation and exemplary punishment of the criminals **independently of their political affiliation and of their connections with any foreign power.**

REMINDING "EL POPULAR" WHAT IT SAID THEN

Here are other quotations, which merit attention, from this same issue of *El Popular* of May 25, 1940:

On page 1: "The authors of the assault on Trotsky's house will be severely punished."

On page 5: "The assault on Trotsky's house was organized and executed by provocateur-elements disguised as police and army officers." (Statement by the Communist Party).

Editorial, page 3: "The terrorists or pseudo-terrorists, foreign or Mexican, who perpetrated this act of anti-national provocation must be discovered and pitilessly punished."

Same editorial: "Once the guilty ones are discovered and their motives clarified we ask that the most severe punishment be meted out, regardless of their background, their political affiliation, the political group to which they belong, the foreign power which they serve, or the band of spies of which they form part."

And even after the exposure by the police of the action of the GPU and the guilt of Siqueiros himself, *El Popular wrote* in an editorial on June 20, 1940: "Today we repeat our petition of yesterday. Our desire is to have the law applied in all its rigor to the authors of the assault . . . "

On page 5 of that same issue was printed the official statement of the Stalinist party: "The Communist Party of Mexico declares categorically that not a single one of the participants in the provocation is a member of the party; that all of them are uncontrollable elements and agents provocateurs; that an act like the one perpetrated at Trotsky's house, contrary to the genuine forms of proletarian struggle, has nothing to do with us."

NOW THESE HIRELINGS DEFEND THIS TERRORIST

On May 25, 1940, *El Popular* wrote articles full of haughty impartiality and patriotic indignation. *El Popular* was hastening to create an impression that it was above all suspicion; and was distracting attention away from the GPU. This is what they all wrote yesterday; today all these gentlemen are creating a GPU committee for the defense of a "revolutionary artist," that is, for the defense of terrorists.

On the night of May 24, 1940, a gang of GPU agents dressed in police uniforms, tied up the police guard outside of our house, placed there by the Mexican government, broke into our house at 4 A.M. and marched firing through the room of our grandchild into our bedroom. Armed with revolvers and machine-guns they kept firing steadily for a period of four to five minutes. Police investigation, and then the Mexican court, established the *character* of the bullet holes in the doors and walls. On the threshhold of an open door lit up by the flames of an incendiary bomb thrown by one of the political murderers, I saw a silhouette in a police uniform; he vanished. I could not see him clearly . . . Was it perhaps "the revolutionary artist" himself, the murderer of Bob Sheldon Harte, our secretary-guard? Was it the master of the night assault? Was it the accomplice of another "great master" who is boss" of the Soviet land?

These people preach a better future for humanity and at the same time they scurry around to succor a "revolutionary artist" — a murderer. They are brazen enough to speak with pathos to the workers about a society without classes and so on and so forth. But on what do they build it? On what foundations? How are they preparing the working class to build such a society? Lies and murders are the foundation of their activities. On these foundations it is possible perhaps to build only for one's own comfort in our reactionary epoch of wars, seizures, plunder and all other kinds of bestiality.

THE MEXICAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN

If the Stalinist clique has forgotten its own yesterday, then the Mexican people cannot have forgotten it. Although befuddled by revolutionary phrasemongering and vile slander, the Mexican people still remember that the Communist Party organ, *La Voz de Mexico* wrote on June 19, 1940 as follows:

"Immediately following the events at Coyoacan, the Communist Party conducted an investigation to ascertain what had happened. This investigation immediately led to Alfaro Siqueiros, an uncontrollable element who is considered half crazy . . . And since that time there have been suspicions of Alfaro Siqueiros who had associated constantly with a certain White-Guardist and Antonio Pujol, his disciple and personal helper."

The working class of Mexico could not have forgotten this testimony. In the course of three and a half years which we spent in Mexico, all the Congresses of the CTM took place under the slogan of a struggle against Trotskyism and the demand was made for the deportation of Trotsky — in *actuality*, that Trotsky be handed over to the GPU.

The March, 1941, Congress differs from the last Congress in this, that it convened after the catastrophe of August 20, 1940. Stalin's Enemy No. 1 is no longer among the living. "I can therefore say that I live in the country not in accordance with the rule but rather as an exception to the rule." That is what Lev Davidovich wrote in his book: **"The Comintern and the GPU."** The **"exception"** was cut short by a blow of the GPU. And this circumstance found its reflection in a monstrously shameless form in a few lines of a resolution which was passed behind the backs of the Congress by the bureaucratic Stalinist tops, who took up the defense of a terrorist, the organizer of the night assault, the murderer—"revolutionary artist."

THE MEXICAN WORKERS WILL NOT PERMIT THIS INFAMY

The gentlemen of **El Popular** are apparently of the opinion that the law exists in order for the slanderers to monopolize the right of slander, and also in order to punish those who expose the slanderers. The shameless version of self-assault which was maliciously circulated by the GPU, did not succeed. It was blown away by the facts like dust from a table, but the "revolutionary artist" **remained behind.** As is well known, facts are stubborn things. The tops of the Congress, who are **independent of the Congress,** defend the organizer of the night assault. No, this crying infamy will not fall upon the working class of Mexico.

The working class of Mexico will overthrow the Stalinist clique who strained all their efforts at the Congress to save their agents from trial. The criminal—"revolutionary artist" must face trial! Demand of the authorities—as did **El Popular** only yesterday—the punishment of the guilty ones, first and foremost, David Alfaro Siqueiros!

On the 25th day of August, 1939, before the break of Franco German diplomatic relations, the French Ambassador Coulondre was informing the minister of Foreign relations, Georges Bonnet, about his dramatic interview with Hitler at 5:30 in the afternoon:

"'If I really thought,' I observed, 'that we would be victorious, I would also be afraid that at the end of the war there would be only one real victor: Mr. Trotsky.' Interrupting me the Chancellor cried: 'Then, why have you given Poland a blank check?'"

That is what is decisive in the conspiracy of Hitler and Stalin concerning the fate of the "exception to the rule."

What The Critics Didn't Tell About Ambassador Dodd's Diary

William E. Dodd served as United States Ambassador to Germany from June, 1933 to December, 1937. During those fateful years preliminary to the Second World War, Dodd had an unexcelled opportunity to observe the inside workings of capitalist diplomacy, particularly of the democratic nations, Great Britain, France and the United States. These he recorded in a daily journal. He died soon after. Under the title "Ambassador Dodd's Diary 1933-1938." Dodd's intimate private observations have just been published by his son and daughter.

The diary has been hailed by the bourgeois press reviewers as a further justification for our participation in the war for "democracy." To do that, however, they glossed over or ignored the most vital portions of Dodd's revelations: the equal guilt of the capitalist "democracies" with that of the fascist imperialists for the present war, and the aid which the "democracies" gave to Hitler.

Long before Hitler came to power, France and England began preparations for the war. Dodd indicates this in many passages, including the following:

"French politicians have for ten years violated the spirit of the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty. The German Social-Democratic movement was ruined by French policy. Now, after the German Nazi uprising in protest, the Germans are trying to govern themselves by autocratic methods, alienating the world by their indiscretions . . . Wrong and right are so mixed and confused everywhere."

"France played a sad game in 1919 and then continued her mistake under the League from 1930 to 1932. That helped to give Germany Hitler . . . Now, as Sir Eric (Sir Eric Phipps, British Ambassador to Germany, 1933-38) says, all Europe must watch Germany day and night, living under an encirclement system which may even bring economic collapse."

"I think the Goering air program is truly belligerant but France, Italy and England have armed in violation of the Versailles Treaty too." (March 17, 1935)

"Democracies" Sought War Against USSR

The policy of British and French diplomacy after the rise of Hitler to power was to aid in the arming of Hitler for a war on the Soviet Union. Dodd reports the following about the attitude of Lord Lothian and the British ruling class in May, 1935. (Lothian died recently, while British ambassador to the United States.)

"Lord Lothian, who as Philip Kerr was secretary to Lloyd George during the World War, wrote me . . . a letter which I received today . . . He indicated clearly that he favors a coalition of the democracies to block any German move in their direction and to turn Germany's course eastwards. That this might lead to a war between Russia and Germany does not seem to disturb him seriously. In fact he seems to feel this would be a good solution of the difficulties imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty. The problem of the democracies, as he sees it, is to find for Japan and Germany a stronger place in world affairs to which, in his opinion, they are entitled because of their power and tradition. He hopes this can be accomplished without any sacrifice to the British Empire and with as little destruction to human liberty as possible."

Bullitt's Anti-Soviet Role

William C. Bullitt, American ambassador to the Soviet Union, was also intrigueing at the same time, with the French and British diplomats, to turn Germany and Japan to an armed attack on the Soviet Union.

"Ambassador Bullitt from Moscow came in this morning . . . His remarks about Russia were directly contradictory to the attitudes he held when he passed this way last year . . . But Bullitt is the heir to a great fortune and was known as a liberal contributor to the Roosevelt campaign in 1932 . . .

"Bullitt said Russia had no business trying to hold the peninsula which projects into the Japanese sea at Vladivostok. That is all going to be taken soon by Japan. I said: You agree that if the Germans have their way Russia with 160,000,000 people shall be denied access to the Pacific, and be excluded from the Baltic? He said: 'Oh that makes no difference.' . . . I was amazed at this kind of talk from a responsible diplomat who had done much to get Russia recognized in 1933. The President must know the man's mentality, but if so, how could he have appointed him Ambassador to Soviet Russia?"

On December 13, 1936, Dodd writes: "Later . . . when the new Italian Ambassador came here directly from Moscow, we were told that Bullitt had become attracted to Fascism before leaving Moscow . . .

"Last September, Mr. Bullitt was appointed Ambassador to Paris. He has made a good beginning there. But the story goes he is on the reactionary side. The Washington newspaper story says he is in full sympathy with Nazi ideas. This is hard to believe. However, yesterday Monsieur Marcel Knecht, editor and owner of **Le Matin** in Paris, came to see me, reporting that Bullitt, working for an alliance between France and Germany, had requested him to see me and ask me to advise the President to lend a hand in this. Knecht convinced me that he is an able but very conservative man, perhaps a Fascist in France. A little while after Knecht left, a telegram from Bullitt urged me to see and talk with Knecht . . . "

Leading British diplomats played the same role as Bullitt. They sabotaged all aid to the Loyalist government of Spain and supported Franco. Dodd writes, January 11, 1937, "Sir Eric Phipps was as discreet as ever, but he revealed more sympathy for the Fascist crowd in Spain than I had noted before. I believe now he is almost a Fascist, as I think are Baldwin and Eden." (Eden is now British Secretary of War.)

The Hoare-Laval agreement permitted Mussolini to invade Ethiopia without fear of the application of economic sanctions by the League of Nations. Dodd reports why: "I had heard previously that the reason for the Hoare-Laval proposition was the English-French fear that Communism might come to Italy in case Mussolini falls."

"Democracies" Helped Arm Hitler

Dodd's diary gives conclusive evidence, of how the policies of the "democracies" toward Hitler was implemented by direct help in re-arming Germany.

"I visited Sir Eric Phipps and repeated in all confidence a report that Armstrong-Vickers, the great British armament concern, had negotiated a sale of war material here (Berlin) last week, just before a British Government commission arrived to negotiate some plan with Schacht for payment of short-term debts . . . due on current deliveries of British cotton yarn from Lancaster. It is impossible, Schacht said to me yesterday, to pay British debts. Yet, last Friday, I reported to Sir Eric, the British arms people were selling for cash enormous quantities of war supplies. And I was frank enough—or indiscreet enough—to add that I understood that representatives of Curtiss-Wright from the United States were here this week to negotiate similar sales. The British Ambassador pretended to be surprised . . . "

"Norman Ebbutt of the London **Times** came in to give me a report on the effects of the London protest to Hitler about rearming—a protest made after England and the United States have sold millions of dollars worth of arms to Germany . . . "

Several days later, Dodd writes: "Ebbutt confirmed the report of mid-October (1934) that a British woman, connected with Hitler's inner group, was here just before the negotiations on Lancaster debts, to sell war equipment for Armstrong-Vickers. The British Ambassador 'had not known about it' according to previous conversations. I am sure now the British staff members did know."

"Colonel Edward A. Deeds of Akron, Ohio, and New York City, president or director of twenty great American industrial concerns came to lunch today . . . Deeds had negotiated a deal with a German corporation for sending over our airplane patents so that the German company could manufacture and sell a hundred planes to Italy, the American company to share the profits . . . This sort of thing is done all the time in this European war atmosphere . . .

" . . . Our Commercial Attache said, 'In two years Germany will be manufacturing oil and gas enough out of soft coal for a long war, the Standard Oil Company of New York furnishing millions of dollars to help.' . . . Mr. Phillips (Under-Secretary of State, 1933-36) was amazed and distressed, although all this information has been going to the Department for two whole years."

At one point, Dodd is forced to the conclusion: "In the United States, capitalists are pressing in the same Fascist direction, supported by capitalists in England. Nearly all our diplomatic service people here have indicated their drift in the same direction."

These brief extracts, out of scores which might be quoted, give an idea of the real character of the war for "democracy" which Dodd discloses. The men who are shouting loudest for the war, and profiting most from it, are these same fascist-minded capitalists and diplomats, who armed Hitler and tried to turn him eastwards against the Soviet Union.

Bourgeoisie Fears Study Of Its Own Revolutionary Past

By HARRY FRANKEL

Among the "revelations" made at last week's sessions of the Rapp-Coudert committee on education was the story of a "plot" on the part of Communists to rewrite history with the intention of picturing "American patriots, such as Benjamin Franklin or Abraham Lincoln, as the forerunners of present day Marxists." This disclosure, embellished with the garish details of conspiratorial conferences, threw the committee into a state of outraged palpitation, and had a similar effect on the bourgeois press, which gave it feature billing.

It is characteristic of the senile and decrepit bourgeoisie that its sensitivity about the youthful revolutionary origins of the bourgeoisie increases the more its reactionary bestiality of today is exposed. More and more, the actual facts about the first and second American revolutions of 1776 and 1861 become so many skeletons in today's bourgeois closets.

There is a wonderful sequence in the Russian revolutionary film, "Ten Days That Shook the World," which portrays the bourgeois, Kerensky, as he strides through the halls of the Winter Palace, stopping every so often in front of a statue of Napoleon and, striking an attitude, places his hand in his coat front. And this was the very Kerensky who was at that moment working to betray the workers and peasants of Russia into the hands of the white guard agents of foreign imperialism. It is not at all surprising that he had to seek moral justification for his otherwise unsupportable regime in the previous deeds of a bourgeois-revolutionary conquerer.

It would not be too much to believe that Henry Ford, passionate antiquarian that he is, sometimes takes tea in the uniform of a revolutionary General, taken from his extensive collection of early Americana. Or perhaps rereads reverently a rare manuscript copy of the Declaration of Independence, while outside at River Rouge, Ford "service" men smash the heads of union organizers.

The most amazing recent manifestation along these lines was the speech made by Mussolini only the other week, in which he appeals to the Italian heritage of revolutionary democracy while at the same time excoriating the institution of democracy! This desertion of Caesar for Mazzini and Garibaldi, which is important and unmistakable testimony to the awakened mood of the Italian masses, signifies at the same time the need on the part of the Italian bourgeoisie for a more adequate prop of self-justification during their present crisis.

Stalinist Confusion Here As Everywhere

The attitude of Marxists towards the early bourgeois revolutionists is absolutely clear. The work of Ben Franklin and Lincoln is continued by the revolutionary proletariat, in the sense that the revolutionary and equalitarian slogans with which the bourgeoisie awakened the masses and freed themselves from the hand of Britain and the slavocracy, can be realized today only through the socialist revolution. It would however, be folly to imagine that a program for the working class can be found in such documents as the Emancipation Proclamation or the American Constitution.

But this is precisely the illusion which the Stalinists create with their ridiculous obeisance to the traditions of American bourgeois democracy, a form of posturing which has outlived the Popular Front period of the Stalinists and continues unabated today.

As for the committee of Rapp-Coudert, of course, no conceivable machinations on its part will ever make it appear that the sentiments of the Emancipation Proclamation find their modern expression in the lynch, Jim Crow rule of Roosevelt's Democratic Party and its Bourbon backers in the South today.

In their shocked reaction to this "plan" to rewrite American history, the Senators unwittingly disclosed the real nature of the school system. They value it as an instrument for the teaching of a bourgeois view of history and for the education solely of props for the decayed social order. This type of teaching in the interest of a class is known as "liberal education." When it is carried on in the interest of the proletariat, it becomes "immoral Bolshevik propaganda."

Paytriotism Plus

Bethlehem Steel is out to make a big profit grab at the expense of its workers as it did in the last war. Then Bethlehem Steel made profits ranging to many thousand per cent by selling armor plate to the government at prices from $411 to $604 a ton. A Senate investigation determined that the cost of production of this armor plate was only $262 a ton.

Eugene Grace, present head of Bethlehem Steel and right hand man of Charles M. Schwab during the last war, admitted that the cost did not exceed $315 a ton. Yet while charging their own country top prices up to $604 a ton, the Bethlehem Steel bosses charged Czarist Russia $349 a ton, Italy $395 a ton, and Japan $406.35 a ton for identical armor plate.

This is the corporation and Eugene Grace is the man who are trying to prevent their workers from enjoying the benefits of unionism, increased pay and decent working conditions, with an appeal to the interests of "national defense."

THE MILITANT

VOL. V—No. 11 Saturday, March 15, 1941

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: Algonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN

Business Manager:
RUTH JEFFREY

Subscriptions: $2.00 per year; $1.00 for six months. Foreign: $3.00 per year, $1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-thirty—$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. $30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Roosevelt On Strikes

"President Deplores Defense Strikes" was the headline in the March 8th New York *Times*. At first glance the headline seemed inaccurate; Roosevelt was ostensibly directing his remarks merely in opposition to jurisdictional strikes. But the *Times* headline was essentially accurate. The reference to jurisdictional strikes—which are unpopular with the workers generally—was merely being used by Roosevelt as a peg on which to indicate that he is against all strikes and is heading toward a "mediation" plan to prevent strikes altogether.

Like his right-hand man, Knudsen, Roosevelt has become convinced that Hillman's method cannot prevent strikes. Hillman had Knudsen convinced for a while. As Knudsen told the House Judiciary Committee, he thought strikes were due to "inexperienced and immature" union leaders. But "as we get more conservative leaders . . . little by little we will do better." Seven days after he said that, Knudsen changed his mind and came out for anti-strike legislation. The Bethlehem strike victory had changed his mind for him. Roosevelt, too, it is clear, has lost hope in getting "more conservative leaders" to do all the dirty work for him. "The President said that all strikes could not be averted merely by pressure from leaders at the top of the unions. Questioned about the suggestion of Hillman that this was the way to handle the labor problem, Mr. Roosevelt said that theoretically, it was grand." (New York *Times*, March 8.)

But practically, Roosevelt indicated, it was another matter. "There were other cases where local people will not listen to advice from on top."

The rigidly adhered-to rule of the White House, prohibiting reporters from quoting the president directly except where (very rarely) express permission is given, serves to blur a little the full meaning of Roosevelt's words, but it is clear enough that he plans to find ways and means to crush "local people (who) will not listen to advice from on top," and top leaders who go along with strikes.

Roosevelt is a good deal cleverer than some of his lieutenants. Assistant Secretary of War Patterson, for example, last week proposed to end strikes by "establishment of an agency similar to the National War Labor Board of 1918." All any intelligent worker has to do to know what Patterson means is to look up the record of the 1918 board and he will find that governmental strikebreaking and union-busting are the essence of the proposal. Roosevelt doesn't make Patterson's mistake; he warned reporters that the board he wants now will not be "merely" a recreation of the 1918 board. But the difference between the two, we say in advance with all assurance, you could put into your right eye.

Army Discipline

The latest edition of the United States Army's manual "of military courtesy and discipline" includes an innovation: the soldier is no longer required, when off duty, to salute officers. This is about the only specific change in army discipline to be noted in the "new" manual, which the army's publicity staff label as "an end to iron discipline."

Correctly enough, the manual says that "modern warfare requires self-reliance in every grade; individuals capable of independent thought and action, who are inspired by a distinct feeling that as an individual or as members of a unit they are competent to cope with any condition, situation or adversary." But that principle is in no way carried out, either by this "new" manual or by the army's general system of discipline.

The backbone of the army's totalitarian system of discipline is the court-martial. One man in ten was the victim of a court-martial during the last war, most of them convicted, for usually a charge presented by an officer is as good as conviction. The present manual of court-martial is essentially the same as in the last war and, we predict in advance, it will not be changed. It will not be changed until the capitalist control of the army is done away with and the working class controls all the armed forces of this country.

For the army's system of discipline is a *class* weapon. It is the means by which the bourgeois minority rules by terroristic means over the proletarian majority.

The March issue of *Fourth International* has as its principal feature an article by Michael Cort on "The Court-Martial System of the U. S. Army." Every worker should read it. Even many revolutionary workers will be amazed by what it reveals in great detail concerning discipline in the army.

It is not accidental that Comrade Cort's article, the first of its kind in this war, appears in the Trotskyist press and that nothing like it appears elsewhere. A conspiracy of silence surrounds the army. Yesterday's liberals, who wept over the plight of some individual victim of the class war, say not a word today about the millions who are to be subjected to capitalist terror in the army. This is as it should be. Only those who are irreconcilably opposed to the present system can tell the truth when the truth counts.

The Miners' Demands

The United Mine Workers is the oldest and still the biggest of the unions of the CIO. All the more revealing, therefore, is the condition of the miners which is expressed in the demands now being made by the union for the new contract.

After some eighty years of unionism, it is a fighting demand to call for guarantees of 200 days' work per year and a $6-a-day basic wage. That is, less than $25 a week for a miner's family is a fighting program, not to be secured without a strike. After four decades of unionism, sixty per cent of the miners live on less than $700 a year.

Could any figures more eloquently indicate that we must go beyond unionism, to workers' power and socialism?

Capitalist 'Democracy'

The Democratic Party spent six million dollars to retain their job-holders in Washington and elsewhere. The Republicans dished out over sixteen million dollars trying to get those jobs. These are the official figures; undoubtedly more was spent.

It must be remembered, of course, that the money spent during the election campaign is but a drop in the bucket of what the capitalist class disposes of to keep its ideological control over the workers. Day in and day out, through control of the press, cinema, radio, schools, and other means of propaganda, the ideas that serve the ruling class are pounded into our heads.

As against the money spent by the capitalist parties, the funds are infinitesimal which a revolutionary working class party, even were it a party of considerable size, could find to spend.

Fortunately, neither their expenditures nor their control of the means of propaganda can save the capitalist class from the workers' awakening. All the lies of the capitalists are exposed by the unemployment, war, fascism, which the capitalist system produces.

Far more than our own propaganda, the dreadful conditions which the capitalists create will clear the minds of the masses of the deceptions that keep them in subjection.

The fact that the capitalist parties retain control of the means of propaganda and can afford to spend millions of dollars in an election campaign which the workers can never spend, shows that capitalist democracy is not and cannot be real democracy. Real democracy can exist only where the wealth of society belongs to society.

"Defense" Means Worse Wages In Canneries

The National Defense Commission Absolves the Canneries From Obeying the Chief Provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act

The National Defense Advisory Commission has advised the War Department to give the fruit and vegetable canning industry complete exemption from the section of the Walsh-Healey Act which prohibits child labor, requires safety conditions and time-and-a-half for overtime.

Prior to the present Army expansion, the War Department, in order to get around the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, split up its contracts into less than $10,000 orders and placed its orders with dealers rather than the canned foods manufacturers direct. The Walsh-Healey Act does not apply to contracts of less than $10,000.

Some time ago the NDAC thought it would make a savings by buying larger quantities directly from the canners. But this would have placed the canners under the provisions of the Act, and they objected to this very strenuously particularly to the overtime pay requirements.

HOW THEY "SOLVED" THIS PROBLEM

The NDAC and the War Department asked L. Metcalfe Walling, Walsh-Healey law administrator, to exempt the fruit and vegetable canners from the overtime provision.

A hearing was held on the matter. The CIO and AFL opposed the exemption. Walling ruled that he could not legally grant exemption from this one provision, but suggested that it would be legal for him to give an exemption from the entire section of the act containing the overtime clause.

This section deals with laws which regulate the use of child labor and safety conditions, two aspects of the cannery industry which are notoriously bad.

For a while the NDAC and War Department dropped the matter. Neither wanted to go on record as advocating such an infamous policy.

But now things are different. "National defense" requires "sacrifice" from the workers. So the canners are to get an exemption from the whole section of the act, not merely the overtime pay clause. Of course, the cannery bosses will be asked to make a "promise" not to take advantage of this exemption, and to make a "gentlemen's" agreement to "voluntarily" live up to the whole section of the law except the overtime provisions.

CONDITIONS IN THIS INDUSTRY

Conditions in this industry are about the vilest of any in the country. The work is seasonal, and it has been extremely difficult to unionize the terribly exploited migratory workers who form a large section of the workers in this industry.

While the average weekly earnings of all workers in manufacturing industry in August, 1940, were $26.10, according to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the average weekly wage for cannery workers was $18.14. The average 46.5 cents hourly wage in canning compared with an average hourly rate in all industry of 66.7 cents.

In October, 1940, when the average weekly wages of all workers rose slightly, to $26.54, that of the cannery workers fell to $16.61. Average hourly pay for all workers rose slightly, in the same month, to 67.1 cents. The cannery workers' pay fell to 43.5 cents an hour.

Here is another example of what is in store for all American labor during the coming war period. Starting on the most exploited and least organized section of the workers, the government will progressively seek to take away the rights of even the best paid workers. If the government can cold-bloodedly deprive the lowest layers of wage earners, like the cannery workers, of even the meagre protection of the Walsh-Healey Act, what compunction will it have about the better paid workers?

Transport Workers Can Win Despite La Guardia

(Continued from page 1)

captains of the Transport Workers Union, under the charge of a dozen organizers, were dispatched from union headquarters at 153 West 64th Street with copies of an official call for strike on all the bus lines operated by the two companies.

The strike tied up a total of 1,094 buses, 95 per cent of all buses in Manhattan, which run over 27 routes, including 11 cross-town lines. Subways were clogged and taxis swarming around the terminals were doing a land office business. It is the city's biggest transit strike in 15 years.

MANY COPS ASSIGNED

Six to 12 policemen were detailed for duty at each of the garage terminals and depots. They carried night sticks, most of them inconspicuously concealed in the slash-pockets of their overcoats. They prohibited several attempts at mass picketing and cut down the number of pickets.

STRIKE MACHINERY

At union headquarters the strike machinery is functioning in well-oiled fashion. Union books were exchanged the first day of the strike for picket cards which will be returned at the end of the strike. Most of the pickets were dressed in their uniforms and at important stations were directing people to the nearest subway entrance or to the nearest taxi stand.

COMPANY PROFITS

In an exchange of letters with Mayor LaGuardia, Michael J. Quill, president of the union, revealed that "The companies did not negotiate in good faith with the union. Although the net profits of the New York City Omnibus Corporation have been and are more than $2,000,000 a year, which represents an annual return of almost 100 per cent on the investment of its stockholders, it not only rejected all our demands . . but had the audacity to suggest the elimination of sick leave and holidays with pay which were provided for in our previous contract.

"So far as the Fifth Avenue Coach Company is concerned, the figures furnished us by the company itself show that in 1920 the stockholders had an equity of $3,000,000 which by 1940 grew to $10,000,000 notwithstanding that the company paid out $9,500,000 in dividends to its stockholders at the rate of half a million dollars a year since 1922. During the same period wages have declined so that they are now three-quarters of a million dollars a year less than they were in 1929.

"If the companies' attitude has changed and they are now prepared to make reasonable counter-proposals, we shall be pleased to resume negotiations."

MAYOR'S FINK ROLE

Mayor LaGuardia, who has attempted in the past to pose as a "friend of labor," took an openly anti-union and pro-company position. In an interview with the press he declared:

"They just want to strike. They refuse to arbitrate even though officials of the bus companies are willing to extend the present contract. The union's attitude seems to me to be bull-headed, obstinate and stupid."

LaGuardia's defense of the interests of the bosses in the present strike is clearly part of his drive against the Transport Workers Union which has organized approximately 50,000 workers on the city-owned transit lines.

At a meeting of the BMT division of the union on March 5, LaGuardia's Board of Transportation was accused by Harry Sacher counsel for the union, as "more cruel and vicious than any private management we have ever dealt with." He cited as an example the board's refusal to raise the pay of ticket agents from 39 to 40 cents an hour at a time when members of the board increased their own salaries by $100 a week.

SUBWAY FIGHT SOON

On March 6 at a meeting of the 5,000 BMT workers a resolution was adopted demanding that the Board of Transportation negotiate a new contract with the union for city transit employes. The workers want a 33 1/3 per cent wage increase, pension contributions paid by the city, longer vacations with pay and the closed shop. They booed and hissed as speakers described commissioners of the board John H. Delaney, Francis X. Sullivan and George Keenan for their "labor-hating, cheating, vicious management."

The Transport Workers are staging a series of meetings for all divisions in a drive for a new contract. The present contracts with the BMT and IRT expire on June 30. The Board of Transportation, in accordance with the policy laid down by Mayor LaGuardia, has indicated no willingness to negotiate a new contract.

Among one group of three pickets at a Terminal a lively discussion was going on yesterday afternoon. One of the three thought that LaGuardia was a "friend of labor" and would help them.

The other two had a more realistic attitude. "LaGuardia got in office through the labor vote," one of them said. "Now it's clear he's out against the unions. He'll never get another office with the vote of labor."

When questioned as to what the union would do if the companies attempt to run in strike breakers, Quill replied:

THIS ISN'T 1916

"We would use the strength of our whole organization to win the strike." He did not anticipate that any scabs would be brought in however. "This is not 1916. Ours is an industrial union. Neither is it 1934 in Chicago. Ritchie (head of the struck companies) himself brought in strike-breakers and gangsters to smash a strike there and won. But he will not do it here." He reminded reporters that the Byrnes law forbids the transportation of strike-breakers across state lines.

Ritchie has run full page advertisements in the bourgeois press attacking the union. Such reactionary papers as the *New York Times* are backing him up with editorials attacking the strikers. In 1934 the Hertz interests which dominate both companies broke a bus strike in Chicago. Ritchie established himself in this strike as an expert union-buster.

The last big transit strike in New York in 1926 was the strike of the IRT motormen and switchmen. That strike began on July 6 when a group of subway workers organized the Consolidated Railway Workers Union of Greater New York.

The IRT imported more than 600 strikebreakers from Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Kansas City and paid them what the strikers were demanding and gave them food and lodging in addition. They ate and slept in the company's guarded shop at 147th St. and Seventh Ave. and were trained there to operate subway trains. By the end of the month the strike was broken. The strikers were taken back at their old wages with the exception of those whom the company considered to be the leaders.

NEVER AGAIN!

But the labor movement in New York stands at a different level from what it was in those days. Now the transport workers are strongly organized and affiliated to the powerful CIO. The inspiring solidarity among the ranks of the strikers is a guarantee that this time they will win.

The British Workers ---Not Churchill--- Can Defeat Fascism

By JACK WEBER

The American workers are being sold on the idea that all-out aid to English capitalism will help defeat Hitler and so get rid of fascism. At the same time the English workers have played to them an old and well-tried tune: first we must win the war and defeat the Nazis; then we can have socialism. Churchill flashes his most winning smile in the bomb-torn areas and, while announcing that he has one single war aim—to win the war—lets fall a remark or two that things will be quite different after the war.

Why Not Socialism Now?

The English masses should demand an answer to the simple query: why not socialism now? The first answer they will get is that any move to obtain socialism now would cause difficulties, would split the nation, would disturb class peace. And, that would endanger the victory and permit Hitler to conquer. Who, however, would make it difficult and give trouble? Surely not the workers who would stand to benefit by the elimination of profits, the complete central planning of production for a nationalized economy, the elimination of privileges so that there would be a better distribution of the goods of life. No, it would be the capitalist owners who possess all the privileges who would be up in arms—and who would then stand in the way of conducting a victorious war!

The workers are giving their lives to help defeat fascism. The factory owners haven't enough gratitude right during the war to yield up anything to those who are giving everything to save the capitalist system. Would these same owners give up any of the prerogatives of their rule after the war?

Assume that England wins the war with Churchill still in power. Where would English economy stand? Right now it is so close to bankruptcy that it must appeal to the United States for aid without any illusion that this assistance will ever be repaid. The end of the war will see an economically helpless England faced with the most gigantic tasks in rebuilding what has been destroyed. The first World War ended with nothing but misery and unemployment for the masses. This war will leave capitalism so rotted through that it would be able to maintain itself only by a terrific slash at the living standards of the English people. In other words, the war will have hastened the entire process of capitalist decay that undermined all Europe in the period between the two wars. That brought fascism to one country after the other because the factory owners had to destroy all resistance to their plans to cut wages, lengthen hours of work, and put the masses on starvation rations. England would be no exception. Churchill or his successors would resort to exactly the same measures that brought Hitler in Germany under similar conditions.

In this process the Churchills would be aided by the United States, for after an utterly exhausting war, England would not even be able to maintain her independence. Churchill tries to undermine Italian morale by gibing at Mussolini for having made Italy nothing but a German province. Mussolini could very well retort that Churchill is rapidly making England a colony of the United States.

Workers Can End This War

Churchill tells the British workers that the German people have made themselves responsible for Hitler and all his doings. Otherwise why do they tolerate Hitler? And Hitler talks in exactly the same fashion about Churchill and the English workers. See, he says to the German workers, the English are united against us, the workers are solidly with their bosses. In this argument, however, there is the whole key to ending the war in a victory for the working class. The English workers have it in their power to destroy the "national unity" of Hitler. How could the English proletariat do this? By breaking down the walls of their own national "unity," by sweeping aside the Churchills and their labor lackeys and setting up a workers' government in England.

Such a government could really and fully mobilize all the resources, all the forces of production and all the people of England to defeat fascism. Hitler could no longer talk of the nefarious plot of the international bankers against Germany.

The hypocrisy of Churchill would make itself evident at once. He would show immediately that his main aim is to win the war—for capitalism, not for democracy. When the French General Staff saw defeat looming, their fear of revolution made them capitulate at once. Churchill, faced with a proletarian revolution at home, would not hesitate for one moment. He would sooner see the victory of Hitler and the salvation of capitalism through fascism, than the defeat of Hitler by the revolutionary working class. The French capitalists forestalled a revolution by giving in quickly to Hitler. But let the workers of England start their revolution for socialism and the situation would be quite different. When the victorious army of Bismarck faced the armed Paris workers in the days of the Commune, he did not dare send his troops into Paris to disarm the Communards. He did not want his own troops to become infected, for through them all Germany would have burst into flame. The flame of the English revolution would light up first of all Germany and then all of Europe. Does anyone believe that the German workers are enthusiastic for the war and have any great love for their fascist masters? No, an English revolution would cause the very ground to quake under Hitler's feet.

All the lessons of the events in Europe since the Russian Revolution make it clear that only the workers can defeat fascism. They cannot leave this task to the "democratic" capitalists. Churchill defends imperialism, not democracy. It is capitalism in putrid decay that breeds fascism. And the war is hastening and extending this decay. The defeat of Hitler would bring revolution in Germany, no doubt. But if the Churchills were victorious, then they would protect their capitalist system by attempting to drown the German revolution in blood. That would mean a new form of fascism unless the German revolution then spread to England. Any way one looks at it, only the workers can defeat fascism. The English workers can bring Hitler down by themselves taking power in England against the capitalist government.